

How attacks on
one candidate's
faith hurt us all
BY JON MEACHAM

Separate schools
for bullied kids?

10 QUESTIONS
George Clooney on
why he's not running
for President

TIME

THE
RETURN OF
THE SILENT
MAJORITY

Yes, you can hear it above the noise on the left and right **By Joe Klein**

Plus How the Occupy Wall Street movement took off





Korean Air's A380 provides you with

Duty Free



While cocktails are served in spacious lounges and

94



providing greater

1.3 times the space



Showcase offers onboard shopping for luxury items.

bars



Prestige Sleeper Seats comprise the entire upper deck.

comfort



There's more to our A380 than meets the eye

Korean Air's A380 has the fewest seats to give you 1.3 times the normal space for a more comfortable flight experience. While onboard, unwind at our Duty Free Showcase, lounges and bars, or simply relax in entire upper deck devoted to just 94 Prestige Sleeper Seats. Less crowding also means a lighter plane and cleaner skies through which to fly in comfort and luxury.

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LightBox: A Sacrifice
Steve Jobs,
1955-2011

Amanda Knox:
Victim, Vixen,
Villain

EDITOR'S DESK

Informing Opinions, Gathering Ideas

 This week marks the launch of our online daily opinion section, TIME Ideas. Delivering essential insights and provocative takes on the topics of the day, it will be fun and fearless and will reflect the breadth of issues we cover at TIME. Among our first posts: Karen Hughes and Mark Penn on how much trouble Obama is in, Dr. Amy Tuteur on the myths of "natural" childbirth and Touré on when whites can use the N word. It's edited and curated by Ruth Davis Konigsberg, so if you have ideas, check in with her.

We're also launching a new entertainment hub on TIME.com that will cover culture from high to low. Edited by Gilbert Cruz, it will provide a steady stream of smart commentary on movies, books, TV, music and video games from our peerless critics Richard Corliss, Lev Grossman, James Poniewozik, Mary Pols and Claire Suddath.

I sat down this week with Bill Clinton for a one-on-one interview as part of the first annual Chicago Ideas Week, a series of events and conversations that brought the world's top thinkers to that great American city that has been the birthplace of so much innovation. TIME is a founding partner of Chicago Ideas Week, along with Mayor Rahm Emanuel, former mayor Richard Daley and Brad Keywell, a co-founder of Groupon and Lighbank, whose energy and intellect fueled the week's programs. We also hosted a panel with several TIME 100 honorees, including Michelle Rhee and Rob Bell, to talk about the culture of influence. Allie Townsend and Claire tracked all the events for us, and you can read about them at time.com/chicagoideas and at ChicagoIdeas.com.



Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'Steve Jobs' Death Prompts TIME to Stop the Presses'

ran the headline at the New York *Daily News*, which noted that this was the first time in more than a decade that the magazine decided to tear up an issue the night it was being printed. Our tribute to "The Inventor of the Future," along with our blitz of online coverage, drew raves from the technorati. "Excellent tributes ... wonderful photos," wrote the blog iPad Insight, and hundreds of effusive readers agreed, including Gordon Glaza of Minneapolis, who in an e-mail to TIME praised Jobs as a man "in the same league as Mozart, Calder, Edison." Still, some readers felt we devoted too much attention to the Apple CEO, who appeared on the magazine's cover for the seventh time. In a conversation on TIME's Facebook page, Richard Stanovic asked, "Is there anything else happening in the world?"



The Book Of Jobs

TIME's 96-page softcover **Steve Jobs: The Genius Who Changed Our World** hits newsstands Oct. 14; the hardcover version can be preordered at time.com/jobsbook. The book weaves together new and archived content for an in-depth look at the Apple CEO who in ways big and small got us all to think differently about iEverything.



HOW THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ARENA IN LOUISVILLE



IS BUILDING BUSINESSES ALL OVER TOWN



When Louisville wanted to build a state-of-the-art arena for its beloved college basketball team, we helped make it happen. Our financing strategy enabled the Louisville Arena Authority to raise funds and break ground — creating hundreds of jobs and a job-training program for local workers. Now, the KFC Yum! Center is at the heart of a vibrant downtown scene, where new businesses are opening, existing businesses are expanding and local restaurants are hiring more employees. See the story at goldmansachs.com/progress



Watch the story
on your
smartphone.

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Goldman
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Remembering Steve Jobs

Jobs represented the American ideal: a self-made man who started a company in his garage, innovated his way into our everyday lives (after an amazing corporate comeback) and went on to change the world [Oct. 17]. Now he's gone, and we mourn in unprecedented fashion for a corporate icon because we see his death as symbolic of our collective decline. President Obama seems impotent. Congress is flailing. The Federal Reserve is out of bullets. The innovators must lead us out of this economic fog. But for now the flag is at half-staff. Who will inspire us again?

Brian Davis, LA GRANGE, ILL.

All my music is on iTunes, my reading is on my iPad, and my distant friends and family are on FaceTime. To think that 10 years ago, the iPod was in its infancy, and today my children don't know life without it. Jobs truly was the Thomas Edison of our time.

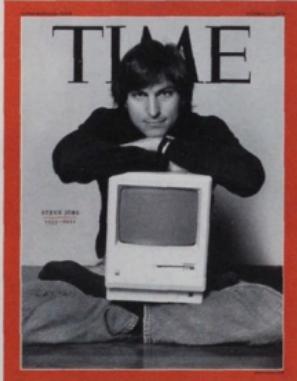
Shane Rayford, MASON, OHIO

I'm sorry Jobs is dead, but his impact is being grotesquely overrated. He is being compared—ridiculously—to Thomas Edison, who gave us the lightbulb, for chrisakes, and Henry Ford, who put an entire planet on wheels. Stripped of all the adulation and hyperbole, Jobs' little shop is revealed as little more than a technoboutique that has never commanded more than a small fraction of the computer market.

Louie R. Geiser, STILLWATER, OKLA.

Father of the Pacemaker

It was gratifying to see that amid the whirlwind of justified coverage of Jobs,

**INSIDE LOOK****The Backstory**

Curious how photographer Norman Seeff got this iconic shot of Steve Jobs in 1984 and how it made its way onto last week's cover? You can find these and other behind-the-scenes details, both old and new, about our 88-year-old publication, at timemagazine.tumblr.com. (Among the bits of TIME lore are our earliest style guidelines, including the helpful directive "Be not redundant.") You can also use the site to ask us questions and tell us what you think.

you provided a few words on the passing of Wilson Greatbatch, inventor of the pacemaker [Milestones, Oct. 17]. While Jobs made his mark by producing fantastic products people hadn't realized they wanted, Greatbatch invented a product that saved hundreds of thousands of lives and, in doing so, made a contribution to society that was no less meaningful than that of Apple.

Dave Pettigrew, CLARENCE, N.Y.

The Knox Verdict

I appreciated your story on the media circus that engulfed the Amanda Knox trial ["Victim, Vixen, Villain," Oct. 17]. It was interesting that Americans, Britons and

Italians had different cultural attitudes that influenced how they perceived Knox. Still, the incredible lack of evidence is something that would be seen in a KKK lynching, not a reputable court's proceeding. Thank God, justice was finally done.

Peter W. Johnson, SUPERIOR, WIS.

Christie's Decision

Joe Klein has missed the mark in writing that New Jersey's Chris Christie "showed he has real respect for the office [of President] and the public" ["When He's Good and Ready," Oct. 17]. Christie line-item-vetoed funding for sexually and physically abused children and cut millions from needed programs for the elderly and the sick. Hundreds of teachers, police officers and firefighters were laid off. He botched New Jersey's chances for Race to the Top funding and thumbed his nose at a federally funded tunnel under the Hudson River that would have provided jobs for many. But he continues to assure billion-dollar corporations and millionaires that he will not increase their taxes. The upside to Christie's decision not to run is that he spares the American public his bullying persona; the downside is that we in New Jersey are stuck with him.

Camille Gaeta, KEARNY, N.J.

SOUND OFF

'After reading Nina Burleigh's story on Amanda Knox, I remain appalled by everyone's apparent disinterest in the incompetence of the prosecutor.'

Jack Diehl,
Haiku, Hawaii, on "Victim, Vixen, Villain,"
Oct. 17

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Living Sacrifice

I was riveted and then appalled by the photo of the camel about to be slaughtered to honor Libyan rebels [LightBox, Oct. 17]. I applaud the rebels' ouster of Gaddafi, but this ritual clearly shows how much the country has yet to evolve.

Gary Wagner, KENNESAW, GA.

Very high triglycerides is a medical term for something serious:

TOO MUCH FAT IN YOUR BLOOD.

Ask your doctor about the FDA-approved medication made from omega-3 fish oil: LOVAZA

If you have high cholesterol, diabetes or are overweight, you may also be at risk for very high triglycerides (≥ 500 mg/dL), which is a serious medical condition. There's only one FDA-approved medication for treating very high triglycerides that's made from omega-3 fish oil. LOVAZA, along with diet, has been clinically proven to lower very high triglycerides in adults. Individual results may vary. LOVAZA has not been shown to prevent heart attacks or strokes. LOVAZA is only available by prescription. You can't get it at a health food store. So if you think you might have very high triglycerides, talk to your doctor about getting tested and ask about LOVAZA.

LOVAZA is used along with a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet to lower very high triglycerides (fats) in your blood. Before taking LOVAZA, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can lower high blood fats by losing weight, if you are overweight, increasing physical exercise, lowering alcohol use, treating diseases such as diabetes and low thyroid (hypothyroidism), and adjusting the dose or changing other medicines that raise triglyceride levels such as certain blood pressure medicines and estrogens.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION FOR LOVAZA

Tell your doctor if you are allergic to fish or shellfish as LOVAZA may not be right for you. Talk to your doctor about any medical conditions you have and any medications you are taking, especially those that may increase your risk of bleeding. In some patients, LDL (bad) cholesterol may increase. Your healthcare provider should do blood tests before and during treatment with LOVAZA to check your cholesterol and triglyceride levels. If you have liver disease, you may require additional monitoring. Possible side effects include burping, upset stomach, and change in sense of taste.

How supplied: 1-gram capsule

Please see important Patient Information on the next page.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

For more information, visit LOVAZA.com or call 1-877-LOVAZA1



Capsule shown not actual size

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LOVAZA
omega-3-acid ethyl esters

PATIENT INFORMATION
LOVAZA® (ω-3-й-з-з)
(omega-3-acid ethyl
esters) Capsules



Read the Patient Information that comes with LOVAZA before you start taking it, and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet summarizes the most important information about LOVAZA and does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment.

For more information, visit
LOVAZA.com or call 1-877-LOVAZA

What is LOVAZA?

LOVAZA is a prescription medicine, called a lipid-regulating medicine, for adults. LOVAZA is made of omega-3 fatty acids from oils of fish, such as salmon and mackerel. Omega-3 fatty acids are substances that your body needs but cannot produce itself.

LOVAZA is used along with a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet to lower very high triglycerides (fats) in your blood. Before taking LOVAZA, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can lower high blood fats by:

- losing weight, if you are overweight
- increasing physical exercise
- lowering alcohol use
- treating diseases such as diabetes and low thyroid (hypothyroidism)
- adjusting the dose or changing other medicines that raise triglyceride levels such as certain blood pressure medicines and estrogens

Treatment with LOVAZA has not been shown to prevent heart attacks or strokes.

LOVAZA has not been studied in children under the age of 18 years.

Who should NOT take LOVAZA?

Do not take LOVAZA if you:

- are allergic to LOVAZA or any of its ingredients.

What should I tell my doctor before taking LOVAZA?

Tell your doctor about all of your medical conditions, including if you:

- drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily.
- have diabetes.
- have a thyroid problem called hypothyroidism.
- have a liver problem.
- have a pancreas problem.
- are allergic to fish and/or shellfish. LOVAZA may not be right for you.
- are pregnant, or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if LOVAZA can harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if LOVAZA passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicine, vitamins, and herbal supplements. LOVAZA and certain other medicines can interact. Especially tell your doctor if you take medicines that affect clotting such as anticoagulants or blood thinners. Examples of these medicines include aspirin, nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory agents (NSAIDs), warfarin, coumarin, and clopidogrel (PLAVIX®).

How should I take LOVAZA?

- Take LOVAZA exactly as prescribed. Do not change your dose or stop LOVAZA without talking to your doctor.
- Your doctor should start you on a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet before giving you LOVAZA. Stay on this low-fat and low-cholesterol diet while taking LOVAZA.
- Your doctor should do blood tests to check your triglyceride and cholesterol levels during treatment with LOVAZA.
- If you have liver disease, your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function during treatment with LOVAZA.

What are the possible side effects of LOVAZA?

The most common side effects with LOVAZA are burping, upset stomach and a change in your sense of taste.

LOVAZA may affect certain blood tests. It may change:

- one of the tests to check liver function (ALT)
- one of the tests to measure cholesterol levels (LDL-C)

Talk to your doctor if you have side effects that bother you or that will not go away.

These are not all the side effects with LOVAZA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

What are the ingredients in LOVAZA?

Active Ingredient:
Omega-3-acid ethyl esters
Inactive Ingredients: Gelatin, glycerol, purified water, alpha-tocopherol (in soybean oil)

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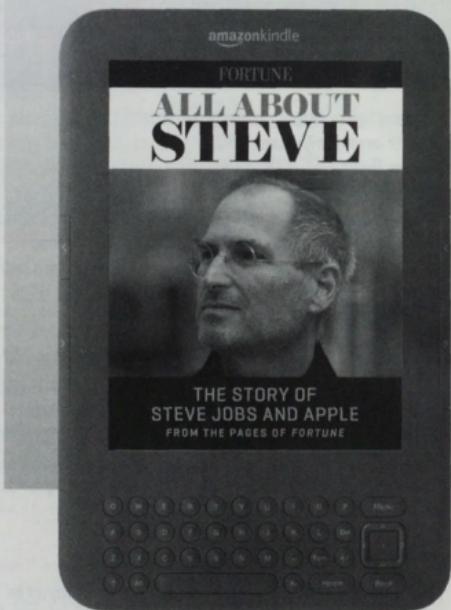
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The man who chose to think different



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Briefing

‘We still don’t know enough.’

1. STANLEY MCCHRYSSTAL, former commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, reflecting on challenges troops faced during 10 years of fighting in the country

‘I thought it was a price of a pizza.’

2. JON HUNTSMAN, Republican presidential candidate, attacking the “9-9” economic plan of rival Herman Cain, the former CEO of Godfather’s Pizza

‘He said, “I don’t think I have any weapons left, but I had a good time trying to beat it.”’

3. BILL CLINTON, at TIME’s Chicago Ideas Week conference, describing the last time he spoke with Steve Jobs, who died after a seven-year battle with pancreatic cancer

‘If someone came with a truckload of Rush Limbaugh’s books, we’d [keep them]. We’re not opposed to having a dissenting voice.’

4. MICHAEL OMAN-REAGAN, a graduate student at Hunter College in New York City, on the People’s Library, a makeshift book collection created by Occupy Wall Street protesters

‘Now it’s time for them to cede power to a civilian who truly believes in citizenship and equality.’

5. MARKO HABIB, an Egyptian law student, after a crackdown against Coptic Christian protesters in Cairo by Egypt’s armed forces left 26 people dead and 300 injured



18

Minimum age required to use a tanning bed in California under a recently enacted law

9.6%

Decline in median income of U.S. college graduates since 2000, a difference of more than \$4,000

472

Number of consecutive weekly AP college-football top-25 polls with at least one school from Florida before the 29-year streak was broken this season

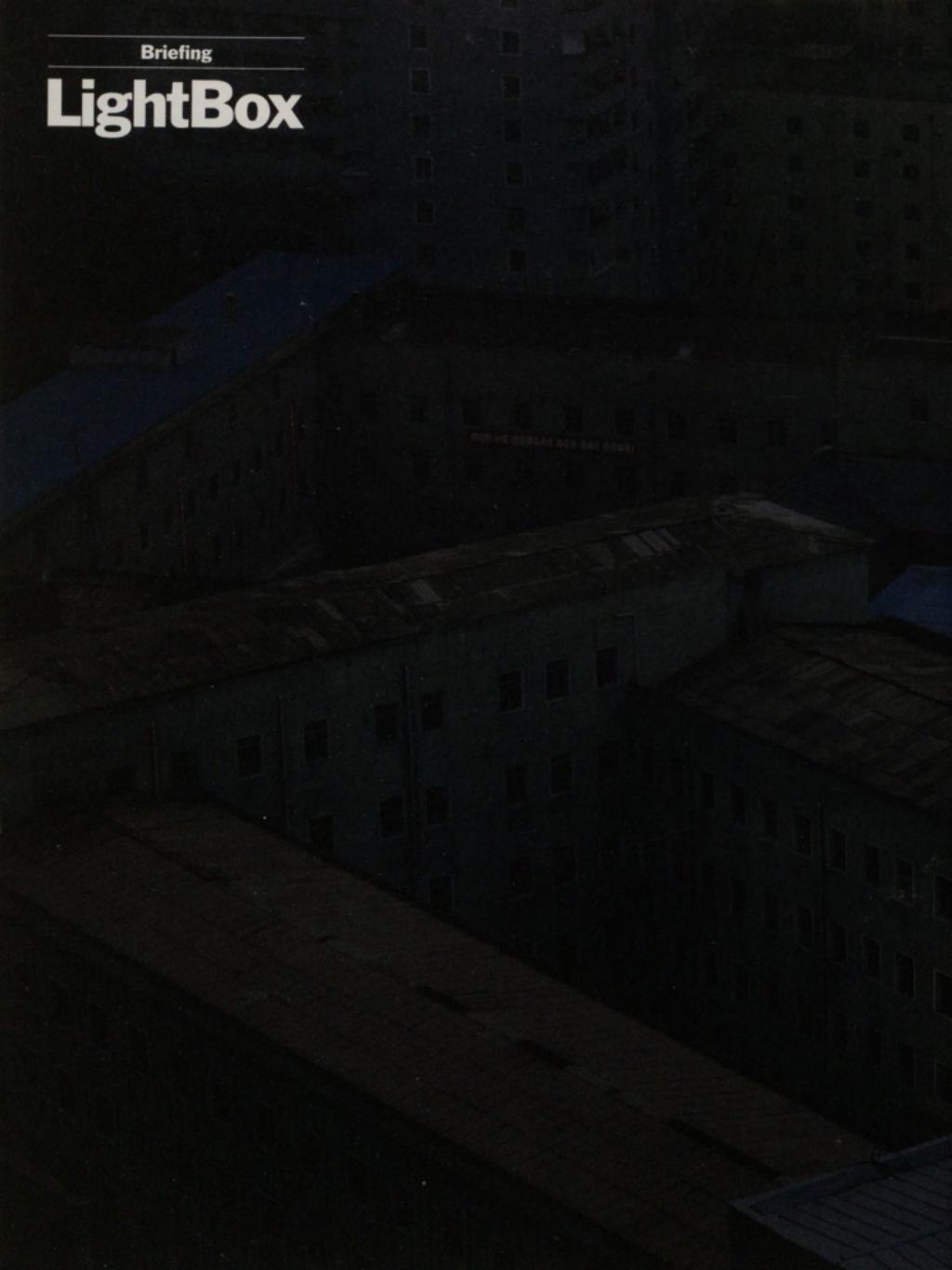


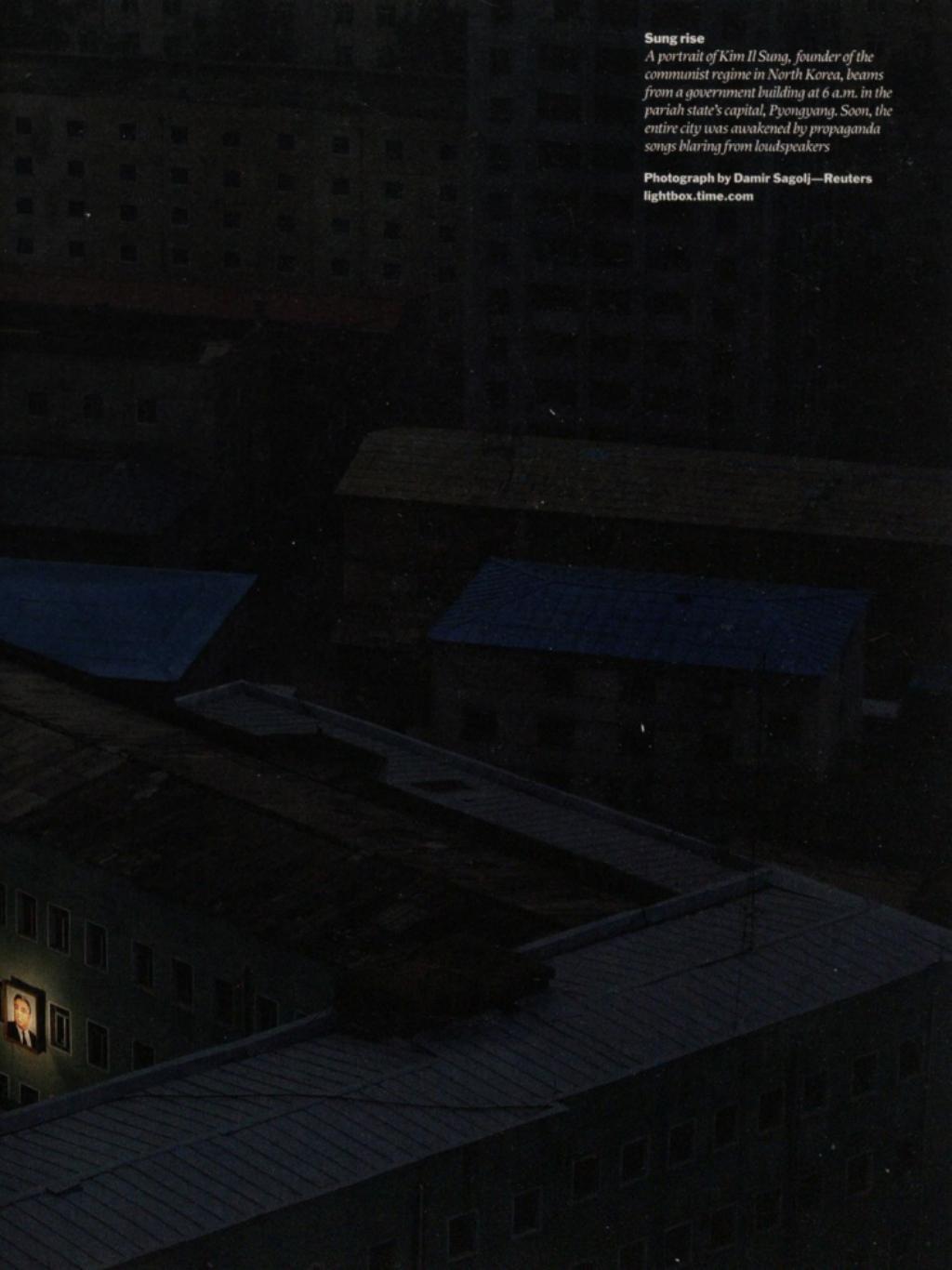
0.9 MM

Additional distance (about 0.04 in.) that London’s Big Ben has tilted each year since 2003; the lean is now visible to the naked eye

Briefing

LightBox



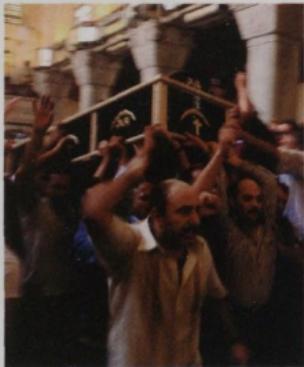


Sung rise

A portrait of Kim Il Sung, founder of the communist regime in North Korea, beams from a government building at 6 a.m. in the pariah state's capital, Pyongyang. Soon, the entire city was awakened by propaganda songs blaring from loudspeakers

Photograph by Damir Sagolj—Reuters
lightbox.time.com

World



Egyptian Copts carry the coffin of a slain protester

Back to the Bad Old Days?

1 | EGYPT Security forces in Cairo were blamed for the deaths of 24 Christian Copts who had been protesting the desecration of a church in the south of the country. Activists claim they were marching peacefully when set upon by soldiers, a charge denied by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, the military body that has ruled Egypt since the toppling of long-ruling autocrat Hosni Mubarak in February. The council instead points to troublemakers among the demonstrators. Critics fear that the military is tacitly stoking sectarian tensions, a tactic used at times by the Mubarak regime to keep a stranglehold on power.



Queen Bee To Jailbird

2 | UKRAINE

Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko was sentenced to seven years in prison for her involvement in a money-losing deal between a Russian gas giant and the country's state-run gas company, which was signed when she was in office. Critics claimed the trial was a politically motivated attack launched by her rival, President Viktor Yanukovych. The verdict drew howls of protest from Moscow to Brussels.

Foreign-Exchange Rate: 1,000 to 1

3 | ISRAEL Both Israel and the Islamist faction Hamas claimed victory after reaching an agreement to trade Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit, who was captured in 2006, for some 1,000 Palestinian prisoners. For Hamas, the deal will be hailed as the triumph of dogged resistance over diplomacy—the latter a path long followed by Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, a Hamas rival. Shalit's prolonged captivity was a source of national anguish in Israel; his freedom may boost domestic support for hard-line Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.



GILAD SHALIT



Serenaded by a comrade, NTC fighters fire at Gaddafi loyalists

Don't Ask for an Encore

5 | LIBYA Forces of the governing National Transitional Council began what many hoped would be the final assault on the holdout city of Sirte, birthplace of ousted dictator Muammar Gaddafi. The NTC says that it has wrested control of much of the city and that victory is near; dozens of NTC fighters have been killed in the offensive.

JAPAN

10,000

Number of free airplane tickets to Japan the country's tourism agency will offer in 2012 to boost a tourism sector hobbled by the aftermath of this year's devastating earthquake, tsunami and nuclear meltdown



With Poland's economy flagging, Tusk won't have any time to rest on his laurels

A Pole of Stability

4 | POLAND For the first time since the fall of communism in 1989, a ruling government kept its grip on power. The re-election of Prime Minister Donald Tusk and his center-right, pro-E.U. Civic Platform Party has been hailed as a sign of growing maturity in Polish democracy at a time of political and economic tumult in Europe.



A Sacred, Soggy Place

6 | THAILAND A man paddles through floodwaters past the Chaiwatthanaram temple, a UNESCO World Heritage site in the now inundated ancient Thai capital of Ayutthaya. Southeast Asia has been bombarded by a summer of epic monsoon rains and typhoons, causing billions of dollars in damage. Thailand is experiencing its worst floods in half a century; the rising waters have claimed nearly 300 lives since July.

A Truly Monumental Struggle

7 | U.S. The World Monuments Fund's 2012 list of endangered historic structures includes 67 sites spread across 41 countries and territories. Ranging from crumbling churches to congested old neighborhoods, many of the monuments are imperiled by growing urban populations as well as increased, reckless tourism. The fund stresses the need to balance development with the preservation of cultural heritage.

DESA LINGGA
Indonesia An old Sumatran farming village whose distinctive architecture is fading



Endangered Piles

510 FIFTH AVENUE
U.S. The Manhattan building, a Modernist glass cube, has had its interior gutted



GINGERBREAD NEIGHBORHOOD
Haiti Classic Port-au-Prince homes have been falling apart since the 2010 earthquake



FIRST CEMETERY OF ATHENS
Greece A 19th century site whose tombs all need urgent repair



ST. PARASKEWA CHURCH
Poland A 16th century wooden cathedral that is at risk of catching fire



TIANTAI AN
China Dating back over 1,200 years to the Tang dynasty, this temple suffers from local neglect

ON TIME.COM

'There may be solid evidence that the apelike yeti roams the Siberian tundra.'



JOE JACKSON, TIME contributor, on a recent report from a region in eastern Russia claiming with "95%" certitude that scientists there have discovered evidence of the mythical yeti

INVESTIGATION

Did Iran Plot to Kill? Behind the alleged scheme against the Saudi envoy on U.S. soil

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

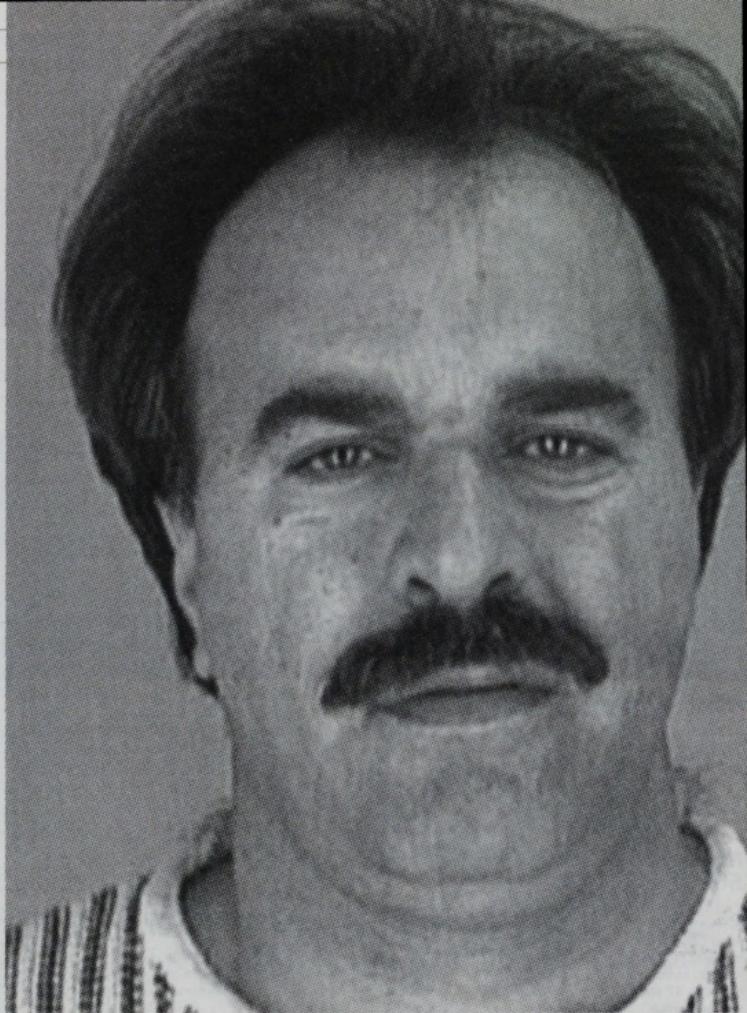
WHEN MEXICAN border authorities refused to allow Manssor Arbabsiar to enter their country late last month and instead put him on a plane bound for New York City, the used-car salesman may have sensed something had gone very wrong. He had made multiple business trips to Mexico City before without incident, but this time—according to a complaint unsealed by the U.S. Justice Department on Oct. 11—he'd been on his way to meet a man he thought was a member of a drug cartel to plan the final stages of a bomb attack against the Saudi Arabian ambassador in Washington. Did someone tip off the Mexican border agents? And was it his imagination, or were those heavyset men in nearby rows watching him?

They were. When Arbabsiar disembarked the plane at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York, U.S. law-enforcement agents arrested him and took him to downtown Manhattan. Within hours he had confessed to a plot, says FBI chief Robert Mueller, which "reads like the pages of a Hollywood script." Not only did Arbabsiar admit to helping plan the

most audacious assassination attempt in the U.S. in more than 30 years, as well as possible bomb attacks against the Israeli and Saudi embassies in Washington. He also revealed, the complaint alleges, something much more worrying: the plot had been hatched by top members of Iran's elite special forces group, the terrorist-sponsoring Quds Force of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps.

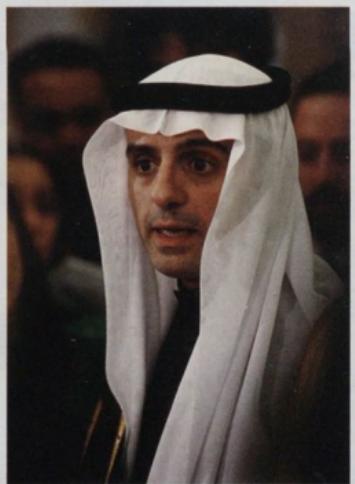
The Islamic Republic has embraced terrorism from the moment of its creation, and Americans have often been the victims: at the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979, at the Khobar Towers truck bombing in 1996 and in Iraq in 2007. Throughout the war in Afghanistan, Iran has exported ever-more-deadly roadside bombs, directly contributing to soaring U.S. casualties there. But launch-

ing an attack on the U.S. mainland is so risky that it has Iran watchers worrying that the country's fractured leadership may be turning dangerously unpredictable. "It suggests a degree of boldness and brazen disregard for practicality that is new and different," says Ray Takeyh, an Iran expert at the Council on Foreign Relations. The plot, he adds, reveals "a regime that is beleaguered



A PLAN GONE AWRY

Mansoor Arbabsiar, left, an Iranian-American used-car salesman from Texas, faces life in prison if convicted of plotting with Tehran to assassinate Adel al-Jubeir, below, the Saudi ambassador to Washington. U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, bottom, left, disclosed the alleged scheme on Oct. 11



and thus increasingly even more indifferent to norms of behavior."

It was partly luck that Arbabsiar's alleged plot was foiled at all. A 56-year-old businessman from Texas, he was recruited into the bomb plot by his cousin Abdul Reza Shahlai, who he said was a high-ranking Tehran-based member of the Quds Force, say Justice Department officials. The Quds Force's 15,000

members are believed by the U.S. government to arm and train militants at camps in the Middle East and Africa and to operate worldwide out of Iran's embassies. Arbabsiar told Shahlai that he had met narcotics traffickers through his used-car business in Corpus Christi, about 145 miles (233 km) from the Mexican border. Shahlai arranged for Arbabsiar to meet in Tehran with two high-ranking Quds

Force members, who told Arbabsiar to recruit one of the drug traffickers to plan kidnappings and other violent attacks in the U.S.

Arbabsiar chose his hitman poorly, recruiting as a would-be assassin a longtime and trusted informant for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration whom he found through a network of mutual associates. That informant told the DEA what Arbabsiar was proposing last May, and soon the FBI was recording planning sessions between the two men, including discussion of the price tag for a hit on the Saudi ambassador: \$1.5 million. Eventually, Arbabsiar arranged for a transfer of what Justice Department and White House officials say was nearly \$100,000 of Iranian government funds into what was actually a covert FBI bank account, as a down payment on the assassination.

The Iranians' prime target was not surprising. Saudi Ambassador Adel al-Jubeir, 49, is an urbane and high-profile member of the Washington diplomatic scene, popular with American officials and journalists for his Western education and his open mind about reform in the Arab world. More important, he has been a vocal critic of the Iranian regime, airing in public and private his country's distrust of the Shi'ite revolutionaries across the Persian Gulf. In a much-cited U.S. State Department cable made public by WikiLeaks last year, al-Jubeir reminded the U.S. chargé d'affaires in Riyadh of the Saudi King's "frequent exhortations to the U.S. to attack Iran and so put an end to its [alleged] nuclear-weapons program."

What Iranian interests would be served by killing al-Jubeir in Washington is harder to make out. Iran's Arab neighbors would be even more inclined to push for a

unified Western attack on Tehran if the plot had been traced back to its origin afterward. At the least, the U.S. might be able to rally hesitant countries like China and Russia to impose even more punitive sanctions on Iran. If the Quds plotters had followed through on the early ideas of embassy bombings as well, it would have heightened already dangerous tensions between Israel and Iran.

Persia watchers in the U.S. don't know whether the plot was hatched at the top of the Tehran power structure, but believe its discovery may undermine whoever is behind it. They are looking anew at recent clashes in the Iranian hierarchy: for months, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has been locked in a losing battle with the supreme theocratic leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, fading from power as his allies have been arrested and his backers among the Revolutionary Guards undermined.

Iran denied involvement, and the Iranian ambassador to the United Nations said the U.S. was "fabricating security threats to terrorize the public in order to advance their political agenda." While White House aides refused to rule out a military response, the next steps are likely to be economic. On Oct. 11 the Treasury Department immediately moved to bar U.S. transactions with Arbabsiar, Abdul Reza Shahlai and three other members of the Quds Force and to freeze any of their assets they could find in the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton promised to work with allies to "send a strong message to Iran and further isolate it from the international community."

For his part, Mansoor Arbabsiar, the traveling used-car salesman, is cooperating with the feds. He faces life in federal prison.

Health & Science

Just Say No The case against PSA

ROUTINE SCREENING IS THE best way to catch cancer early and control the disease, but in the case of prostate tumors, such testing may do more harm than good.

That's why a government panel is urging that healthy men not be tested for prostate-specific antigen (PSA), a protein made by prostate cells that, at high levels, can indicate cancer. The PSA test is the most common way to screen for prostate cancer, and millions of men over 50 currently get the blood-based test at every yearly checkup.

But in many of these men, positive PSA tests may signal slow-growing tumors that don't need treatment or may be false positives; PSA levels can also rise when the prostate simply gets bigger as part of the aging process. These men often undergo unnecessary and invasive biopsies and surgeries, which can be dangerous; the panel noted that from 1986 to 2005, 1 million men who would not otherwise have been treated had surgery, radiation therapy or both after positive PSA results. Of those, 5,000 died because of complications from those procedures and 300,000 developed impotence or incontinence.

Still, many cancer experts criticized the government panel's conclusion. Rather than abandon the PSA test, which does save lives by catching prostate cancer early, they argue that we need better ways to interpret its results.

—ALICE PARK



HEART HEALTH

Outwit Your Bad Genes with a Good Diet

It turns out you really can eat your way to better health. Among people whose genes put them at high risk for a heart attack, those who ate more fruits and vegetables were half as likely to have a heart attack over a four-year period as those who didn't eat as much produce.



PALEONTOLOGY Out of Africa

That's a tiny tooth from the oldest rodent fossil found in South America. Scientists think this ancestor of the modern guinea pig and porcupine hitched a ride from Africa on a raft made of vegetation. At 41 million years old, the tooth is 9 million years older than the next oldest rodent fossil from the region.

SKIN CANCER

30%

Increase in risk of melanoma attributed to three newly discovered gene mutations that aren't related to known risk factors like fair skin, blond hair or number of moles

SUPPLEMENTS

Rethinking Vitamin E ...

A new study finds that taking vitamin E can raise the risk of prostate cancer. It's only the latest trial to question the protective effects of E. What the data show:

no benefit ...

Prostate Cancer

Vitamin E users have a 17% higher risk of cancer than those not taking E.

Vision Loss

The vitamin does not appear to protect against age-related macular degeneration.

Heart Disease

Vitamin E may not lower the risk of heart disease among healthy middle-aged adults.

Breast Cancer

Users do not have lower rates of the disease.

potential benefit ...

Alzheimer's Disease

Early studies hint that E may slow cognitive decline.

... And Other Supplements

Older women taking multivitamins and supplements were more likely to die than nonusers during a 19-year study. Why? Supplements may deliver too much of a good thing, since nutrients can be toxic at high doses.

Calcium was the only supplement linked to a lower risk of death: 10% lower





Istanbul, Turkey

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Milestones



DIED

Fred Shuttlesworth

By John Lewis

From about 1948 to 1964, there were at least 80 unsolved bombings of black churches, homes and businesses in Birmingham, Ala. Segregationists targeted the black community so frequently that the city was nicknamed Birmingham. When others were terrified to stand up and speak out, Fred Shuttlesworth, who died Oct. 5 at 89, put his body on the line to end segregation in Birmingham and the state of Alabama. He was fearless. Shuttlesworth was beaten with chains, his home and church were bombed, and he lived under constant threat of violence and murder. But he never, ever lost faith in the power of love to overcome hate. He was doggedly determined on the one hand but a modest, gentle spirit on the other. He never tried to shine. He just wanted to make a difference. And he did. The Birmingham movement was so effective, Shuttlesworth once commented, that we made a steer out of commissioner of public safety Eugene "Bull" Connor, our prime adversary. Shuttlesworth must be looked upon as one of the founders of the new America. Through his courage and sacrifice, he helped liberate not just a people but an entire nation from the burden of hate.

Lewis is the U.S. Representative for Georgia's 5th Congressional District

DIED

A.C. Nielsen Jr., 92, who followed his father as head of the A.C. Nielsen Co., which created the first TV-audience-measuring system, the Nielsen ratings, in 1950.

PLEADED

Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, the underwear bomber, guilty to eight charges, including trying to blow up an airliner on Dec. 25, 2009.

MARRIED

Paul McCartney and Nancy Shevell, an American heiress to a motor-freight fortune; the former Beatle's third wedding



took place Oct. 9 at London's Old Marylebone Town Hall, the site of his first wedding, with Linda Eastman in 1969.

DIED

Bert Jansch, 67, a guitarist whose amalgamations of folk, jazz, blues and classical music inspired guitarists such as Jimmy Page, Neil Young and Paul Simon.

CANCELED

The first two weeks of the NBA season, on Oct. 10, after negotiations with the players' union, mostly over revenue sharing, failed to end a three-month lockout.

DIED

Kenneth Dahlberg, 94, a fundraiser for Richard Nixon. His cashier's check landed in a Watergate burglar's account—linking the President to the fateful heist.



DIED Al Davis

Oakland Raiders owner Al Davis, who died on Oct. 8 at 82, was never beloved outside Raider Nation. "Lying creep," a fellow owner once called him. He was the George Steinbrenner of football barons: bullying, arrogant—"Just win, baby!"—and, in his later years, a subpar talent evaluator. But his innovative football mind and aggressive executive approach, which led the Raiders to three Super Bowl wins, have shaped the NFL as we know it.

As a coach, the Brooklyn tough guy with slicked-back hair and a thick accent ("the Raiders") made the vertical passing game—a mix of power running and deep throws—prominent. During his brief stint as commissioner of the upstart American Football League, he essentially forced the NFL to merge with its rival. The outlaw owner of the Raiders, clad in iconic silver and black, built bombastic, quixotic teams in his likeness. Sure, Davis sparred with other owners and squeezed taxpayers for stadium funding. But thanks to him, the NFL is better. And much more badass. —SEAN GREGORY





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Rana Foroohar



The Senate's China Misstep

Coercing Beijing to revalue its currency is no way to rescue American jobs

I WISH THERE WERE A CLASS CALLED China 101 that every member of Congress had to attend. This would be the first lesson: If you really want the Chinese to do something, never pressure them about it in public. Loss of face is anathema in the Middle Kingdom. Which is why when the U.S. Senate passed a bill hinting at tariffs on Chinese goods if Beijing doesn't let the value of its currency rise, the People's Bank of China promptly and defiantly responded by pushing the value of the renminbi lower.

It's ironic, because Beijing had been doing just the opposite until politicians like Chuck Schumer decided to start posturing and make China's currency a proxy for a highly politicized discussion about globalization and unemployment in the U.S. The idea is that if Chinese money were worth more, American firms wouldn't export so many jobs to China (because labor there would be more expensive) and the Chinese would be able to buy more U.S. goods and services, thus cutting trade imbalances between the two nations and helping put the global economy back on track.

Sadly, the Schumer bill doesn't move the dial at all on such trade and currency issues. The most obvious problem is that we really shouldn't aspire to fix the unemployment situation in the U.S. by competing with the Pearl River Delta to make shoes and lighting fixtures. Instead of passing bills threatening tariffs against countries that have created jobs, how about passing our own jobs bill? No chance of that, as President Obama's bill now seems DOA legislatively.

Second, many of the changes the Schumer bill argues for are already in the works. The Chinese, who know they desperately need to rebalance their economy

in order to maintain longer-term growth, have already let their currency appreciate 30% against the dollar since 2005 and a full 10% last year. Wages are rising; in fact, that's the reason there's a nascent trickle of higher-level manufacturing jobs back to the U.S., as Chinese pay hikes (coupled with higher energy and transport costs) make it less profitable to do business in China relative to the U.S. What's more, American exports to China



are actually increasing. Andy Rothman, a China expert at CLSA investment bank in Shanghai, recently pointed out to me that despite all the rhetoric about currency, U.S. exports to China rose 46% in the past decade. The next fastest growth rate to a major market was 64%, to Germany.

While the bill has no real teeth and there's almost no chance the House will pass it (though that hasn't stopped House Speaker John Boehner from proclaiming that it could cause a trade war), the timing is awful. The global economy, which is teetering on the brink of a double-dip recession, does not need a squabble between its two largest players, especially

at a point when populist political sentiment is feverish in both places. China is entering its version of an election cycle, with a major handover of power to a new politburo in 2012. During this delicate period, no Chinese leader "can afford to look like a wimp," says Ken Miller, an American financier who is close to many members of the Chinese government. "What's more, the Chinese people are nationalistic. It's easy for anti-U.S. sentiment to get out of control."

It would be a shame if politics hampered economic rebalancing. The Chinese miracle has for more than 30 years been built on cheap labor, cheap land and cheap capital, but the model no longer works. China's banks, which have doled out too many bad loans, are far more troubled than America's. The frothiness of the real estate market in major Chinese metropolises makes Phoenix and Miami in 2007 look positively staid. Revaluing currency would help control inflation, a growing danger, and cool off the markets. But it has to be done carefully. Just as there are two Americas, so there are two Chinas. The latest LVMH handbag on the arm of a Shanghai yuppie costs twice the yearly earnings of a Shaanxi farmer. It's difficult to set the right speed for economic rebalancing when there's such a huge prosperity divide. While prices of luxury flats in Beijing may seem ridiculously high, slamming the brakes on development too fast could result in mass unemployment and the thing the Chinese fear most: social instability.

That's lesson No. 2 in China 101. In the U.S., class warfare involves peaceful protests by crunchy lefties using sign language to keep order. In China, it means angry hordes parading the streets wearing dunce caps through the streets before stringing them up in public squares. Congressional leaders should remember that before they try to humiliate Beijing into doing anything.

Jon Meacham



An Unholy War

Mitt Romney's faith has been called into question. That's bad for all of us

T CERTAINLY LIVED UP TO ITS BILLING. Hailed as "the most exciting meeting there is in Washington"—the testimonial is from former Education Secretary Bill Bennett—the Values Voter Summit is a kind of Station of the Cross for Republican presidential candidates. The gathering at the Omni Shoreham Hotel in early October produced more than its share of excitement when Robert Jeffress, a Dallas Evangelical megapastor, introduced Rick Perry and then told reporters that Mormonism—the faith of Mitt Romney, Perry's chief rival—is a "cult" and that "those of us who are born-again followers of Christ should always prefer a competent Christian to a competent non-Christian like Mitt Romney."

In the world according to Jeffress, Perry is a "follower of Jesus Christ" but Romney isn't, and that alone—note that Jeffress concedes Romney's competence—should disqualify him from receiving Christians' votes. The pastor is thus doing something the founders refused to do: he is trying to impose a religious test on American politics.

Which is about the last thing on earth we need at the moment. (Why should we be talking about God instead of jobs?) Coming in October 2011, some three months before Iowa and South Carolina, the episode suggests that Romney is gaining, not losing, strength—and, perhaps more important, that American believers may have to step up to save religion from the religious.

If I were Romney, I would feel flattered and validated by the assault at the Omni Shoreham: Jeffress's attack is a sure sign that the former Massachusetts governor is the front runner for the Republican nomination. In 2007, Romney sought to defuse the issue of his faith with a speech at the

George H.W. Bush library in College Station, Texas, in which he made clear that as President, he would be loyal to the country and the Constitution, not his church. Still, the religious conservative Mike Huckabee took Iowa, foreclosing the possibility that Romney might emerge as the main alternative to John McCain. Since Romney faded relatively quickly, there was no major occasion for a high-profile strike like the one Jeffress launched.



Not so this year. Attacks on a politician's identity—questioning Romney's religion, say, or Obama's birthplace—tend to come when an opponent is desperate and can't sell himself. (Perry spokesmen have said Perry doesn't believe Mormonism is a cult and "doesn't judge what is in the heart and soul of others.") As a political matter, having to put up with some Mormon bashing is probably a price worth paying—if you are Romney. The rest of us, however, should not have to endure a political climate suffused with religious bigotry.

The extreme Evangelical view of Mor-

monism is rooted in contempt for—and uneasiness with—the idea of what theologians call ongoing revelation. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints grew out of the visions of Joseph Smith, who believed he received a divine commission in the 1820s to restore the "true" church that had fallen into sin and error. The texts of the faith, chiefly the Book of Mormon, are considered Scripture, but Evangelicals believe the Bible is the final, authoritative word of God. The Mormon understanding of God the Father and God the Son as flesh-and-blood beings is also unusual in traditional Christian terms. Yet unless one truly fears that Romney is an agent of a theological cult—which is as rational as thinking John F. Kennedy was an agent of the papacy or George H.W. Bush was an agent of the Episcopal Church—then such matters are interesting but not dispositive.

The rhetoric Jeffress used suggests two things. First, those who profess the apostolic faith of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost must speak out forcefully in opposition to those who would invoke it in pursuit of theocracy of any kind or degree. There is a biblical and religious case for the separation of church and state that is worth discussing. (Jesus was such a separatist, telling Pilate that "my kingdom is not of this world.") Roger Williams believed that the wall between the two should protect the church from the corruption of the state as much as—if not more than—the state from the influence of the church.

Second, we should recognize that the religious right is shrill because it has lost the central arguments of our time (over school prayer and abortion) and is likely to lose over marriage equality. A wounded foe is always more dangerous than a healthy one.

Romney put matters well in the 2008 campaign. "Perhaps the most important question to ask a person of faith who seeks a political office is this: Does he share these American values: the equality of humankind, the obligation to serve one another and a steadfast commitment to liberty?" If so, that's a cult worth joining.

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"Mike check!" A protester leads an Occupy Wall Street general assembly at Zuccotti Park in New York City

A large, dense crowd of protesters is gathered in a park at night. The scene is dimly lit by streetlights and the glow of nearby buildings. In the foreground, many faces of young people are visible, looking towards the right. The background shows the silhouettes of city buildings and trees.

TAKING THE ST

A small protest on Wall Street
phenomenon. Will populist dema
oversight reshape the political



GIT TO STREETS

has exploded into a nationwide
movement for jobs, fair taxes and corporate
accountability. What's the
landscape? **By Michael Scherer**

**Robert Segal, wine salesman**

"What brought me here? I used to work on Wall Street. I came down to validate their fears."

**Erin Cadet, actress—grad student**

"It's a shame that there's an economic state that we feel like we have no recourse in our government, that we feel like we have to go out and protest in the streets."

**Marcia Malkoff, social worker**

"I've marched many, many times: antiwar, antinuclear, women's rights. I was excited that young people were getting involved again. I would like to see it spread."

It

STARTED IN CANADA, OF ALL PLACES. THE editors of the Vancouver-based anti-consumerist magazine *Adbusters* called for a Tahrir Square "moment" on Sept. 17 in lower Manhattan to protest what they called the disproportionate power of the U.S. corporate elite. The first responders—a motley collection of punks, anarchists, socialists, hackers, liberals and artists—spent that night in Zuccotti Park, an acre of concrete and greenery near Ground Zero, the New York Stock Exchange and the New York Federal Reserve. Then they did it again. Others noticed: the unemployed and the underemployed, scenesters and community organizers, middle-aged ac-

tivists and folks who never bothered to vote. The crowds swelled, both online and beneath New York's skyscrapers. Camera crews arrived. Celebrities made pilgrimages. The spark started a fire.

Facebook sign-up data suggest the Occupy Wall Street movement has been doubling in size, on average, every three days since mid-September. By Oct. 10, protesters in almost every state had joined in, and demonstrations had jumped the Pacific to Hong Kong, Tokyo and Sydney. Crowds gathered in Los Angeles, Albuquerque, Toledo, Knoxville and Fairbanks. Sometimes there were only a few dozen, sometimes a few thousand. But their growing numbers and spreading movement raise urgent questions: Who are these people and what do they want?

The answers are as varied as the crowds, ranging from achieving "collective liberation" to imposing new taxes on financial transactions. But a few threads have emerged: the people who come claim to represent the vast majority of the country, which has been languishing economically while the wealthiest flourish. Corporations, they say, have too much influence in Washington.

Beyond that, though, the protests' direction is murky, so it will be some time before anyone knows exactly what to make of them. But recent experience suggests that small and spontaneous

protests can matter in times of broad economic difficulty, whether in Arab dictatorships or advanced democracies. In 2009 a few dozen conservative activists found one another on Twitter, and the Tea Party began to grow. It came to define the national political conversation in the U.S., helping deliver Republicans control of Congress in 2010. Now the left is fighting back with the same tool kit and its own visual iconography—fewer tricorn hats, more tattoos. In Washington, no one dares to underestimate the potential impact.

The larger public is taking notice as well. By early October, more than half of those polled said they had heard of Occupy Wall Street. More important, they seemed to like it. A new Time/Abt SRBI poll finds 54% of Americans have a favorable view of the new protest movement, despite the images of bearded and shirtless youth playing bongo drums, rolling cigarettes and painting their bodies in Zuccotti Park. The same poll finds just 27% still have a favorable view of the Tea Party.

For embattled Democrats, autumn in New York is a revelation. President Obama, wounded and weakened, struggled to get the country's attention during his September pivot to a class-based counteroffensive, a call for the wealthy to pay their "fair share" in taxes to fund



Jess Horner, social worker

"This is the community-building that's necessary to make things happen when you do have demands—the prelude to something much larger and much more effective."



Katie Cristiano, organic farmer

"I don't think it's a Democratic or a libertarian movement. It's a group of people who are seeking to have their issues and their voices heard, regardless of their background."



Hari Simran Singh Khalsa, yoga teacher

"The exact concrete solutions may not have materialized yet, but the wonderful thing about it is we're open to change and ready for some actual paradigm shift."

a new \$447 billion jobs bill. Senate Democrats, for their part, have embraced a 5.6% tax on those with incomes over \$1 million. But neither the President's plan nor the efforts of Senate Democrats have stirred the nation, and both ideas have been voted down. Democrats now wonder whether the reawakening of the political left has any staying power and, if so, how best to harness it. "It has enormous potential," says Celinda Lake, a longtime Democratic pollster. "It's the kind of thing that you want to ride but not capture."

A Different Reality?

TWO YEARS AGO, REPUBLICAN POLITICAL consultants were offering remarkably similar advice to their clients. "There will be no leaders to the Tea Party," the pollster Ed Goeas, who later became a consultant for Michele Bachmann, predicted presciently in early 2010. "What there will be is a consensus and a belief and a direction that is much deeper." He told Republicans to tie themselves rhetorically to the anti-incumbent, antigovernment thrust of the Tea Party message without taking any ownership. Electoral victory would follow.

That's just what happened. Republican leaders like House Speaker John Boehner were able to rally voters around the simple idea that the federal govern-

ment and its debt were the cause of their problems, even though Republicans like Boehner had played a central role in building up those deficits. He rode the Tea Party wave to a Republican sweep in 2010 without ever trying to steer the movement. Now Democrats hope to do the same thing with the Occupiers.

But the movement they want to ride is still in the process of learning to walk. Near Wall Street, the protesters have set up food service and a makeshift first-aid station and have self-published a community newspaper. Their anger is shared, but their policy focus is still subject to debate. It's hashed out nightly in laborious group meetings that are run by consensus. While the Tea Party drew people from the base of the Republican Party, this movement is filled with young people who have little history in electoral politics, much less policymaking. On a typical day, about 1,000 people fill the park in the heart of New York's financial district; their staying power is by no means guaranteed.

Like the Tea Party, however, their unifying idea is simple enough. The anger they express has a clear target: not the government but the wealthy. Talk has already turned to launching a consumer boycott of the big banks in favor of credit unions. On e-mail listservs and in person-to-person meetings, more

weekend protests are being planned, and Nov. 17 has been chosen by a coalition of progressive groups for a major show of force in city squares around the country. "Politically it looks like we are heading into a very different reality," says Justin Ruben, executive director of MoveOn.org, which has been supporting the Occupy effort. "Inequality is suddenly a topic of conversation in politics."

The White House is certainly trying to join the parade. On Oct. 6 hundreds from Occupy D.C. marched past the White House to an even bigger symbol of their frustrations, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce—a limestone temple of American prosperity resplendent with Corinthian columns and carved wooden doors. "Where are the jobs?" the crowd of hundreds chanted, repurposing a phrase that Republicans once used against Obama. "Where are the jobs?"

A block away, behind the ballistic-grade glass and heavy masonry of the White House complex, the chants could not be heard, but the sentiment breached the walls. Labor and progressive leaders, called together that afternoon for a legislative-strategy session, quickly turned their talk to the protesters outside. "We should all recognize that we are in a new moment," said Chuck Loveless, top lobbyist for AFSCME, the public employees' union, to those gathered in the

Eisenhower Executive Office Building. The White House went out of its way to praise the protesters and present them as mainstream. "What I think is that the American people understand that not everybody's been following the rules," Obama explained in a press conference on the same day protesters marched by the White House chanting, "We got sold out."

Vice President Joe Biden, Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner and House minority leader Nancy Pelosi have offered words of sympathy, as have the heads of the nation's major labor unions. "The protests you're seeing are the same conversations people are having in living rooms and kitchens all across America," said David Plouffe, the President's top strategist. Obama's campaign got into the game, blasting its Twitter feed with calls for Republicans to quickly confirm the new head of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau and accusing the GOP of being "on the side of Wall Street."

Behind the scenes, the embrace has been even more dramatic. Former Obama official Van Jones has been organizing established liberal interest groups into a protest network called Rebuild the Dream, which he hopes will dovetail with the Occupy demonstrations. "There is enough overlap between these networks of people," Jones says. "We text together."

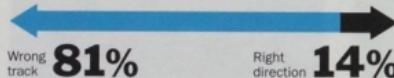
The courtship will be a delicate one, as the Occupy movement remains more an idea than an organization. "It's safe to say that our movement has always been appreciative of whatever help individuals or organizations are willing to give," says Patrick Bruner, the closest thing the Wall Street protesters have to a spokesman. "As long as those organizations don't attach strings, I don't see any reason why we wouldn't accept."

But Democrats don't need to attach strings to benefit; they only need to keep the conversation focused on their issues. Obama rode to victory in 2008 on the backs of first-time voters and young people who felt he would improve their lives. Those voters have been AWOL ever since. "These people did not go away," explains Jones. "They just went from hopey to mopey."

Back in lower Manhattan, the vigil goes on. If it spreads and grows, Obama and his team will be nearby to collect the dividends. Occupy Wall Street is a movement the White House, lacking better options, is already investing in. —WITH REPORTING BY NATE RAWLINGS/NEW YORK AND ELIZABETH DIAS/WASHINGTON

Occupied Territory. A TIME poll shows more voters support the protesters than the Tea Party

Are things in this country generally going in the **right direction**, or have they **pretty seriously gotten onto the wrong track**?



PROTESTS

How do you view the **protests on Wall Street and across the nation** against policies demonstrators say favor the rich, the government's bank bailout and the influence of money in our political system?



UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

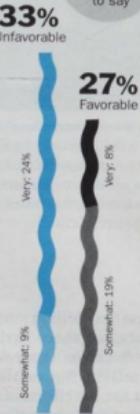
Do unemployment benefits **discourage people from seeking work**, or are most unemployed people **seriously looking for jobs**?



37%
Unemployment benefits discourage work



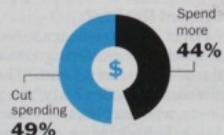
52%
People are seriously looking for jobs



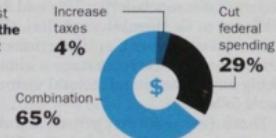
SPENDING AND TAXES

73% of people favor **raising taxes on those with annual incomes of \$1 million or more** to help cut the federal deficit

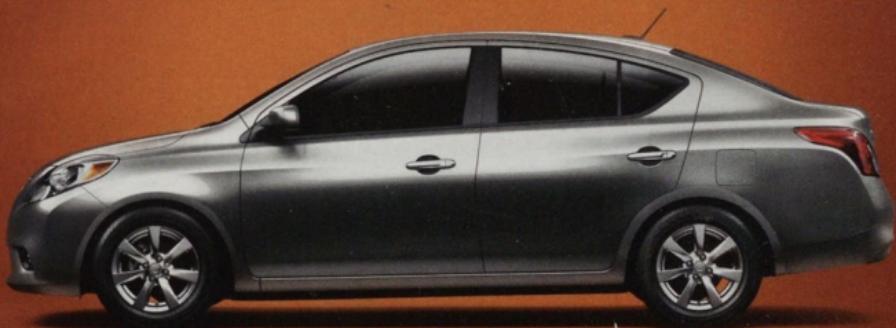
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MID OF THE

The people with megaphone
But the majority of America
A dispatch from our quiet

Newton, Iowa While Washington bickers,
Americans look for compromise and a way forward

Photographs by Lynsey Addario for TIME

MIDDLE ROAD

A landscape photograph showing a road curving from the bottom left towards the horizon. The road is dark and appears to be asphalt. To the right of the road is a field with some low-lying vegetation. In the background, there is a line of trees and a vast, cloudy sky. The overall mood is somewhat somber or contemplative.

nes get the most attention.
ns long for moderate politics.
et, civil union **By Joe Klein**

O

ON A LOVELY FRIDAY EVENING IN SEPTEMBER, in an affluent suburb of St. Louis, a group of neighbors got together to talk about their country. They were Republicans, Democrats and independents—the sort of people who keep up with the news of the day, always vote and often decide the winners of presidential elections. I asked them what was on their minds.

"Civility," said Jane Miller, a Democrat. "We can't seem to have a reasonable conversation about anything anymore, and it reaches right down here to our neighborhood. We're having this really ugly fight about deer. We're overrun with them. Some people want to kill the deer, others don't, and then there's a third group that wants to sterilize them. The argument has gotten really vile. People are acting crazy."

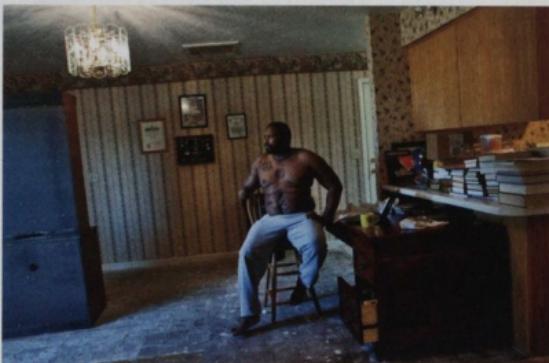
"Sterilizing deer is crazy," said Ed Hindert, a retired businessman. "You've got people out of work, the government running a deficit, and people want to spend money to sterilize... deer?"

I nudged them toward the question of national incivility. "It all started with Newt Gingrich and the way he ran the Congress in the 1990s," said Bart Sullivan, an attorney who described himself as a moderate Democrat. "And now there's the Tea Party. The willful ignorance is incredible. They don't believe in global warming. They want to cut expenditures in the middle of a deep recession. How do you fight this anymore?"

I asked if there were any Tea Party



Urbandale, Iowa Parochial-school students attend a prayer event



Blytheville, Ark. Iraq-war veteran Anthony Smith



Austin, Texas Employment there is above the U.S. average



Homestead, Iowa An evening ride in the Corn Belt



Texarkana, Ark. A fair and rodeo in the Red River Valley



Texarkana, Ark. The local Patriot Party meets weekly



Joplin, Mo. A church meeting in the storm-devastated town



Laredo, Texas Federal agents prowl the Rio Grande



Austin, Texas Capering at a music festival

supporters in the room. "I am," said Dan Amsden, the president of a systems-control firm. "The Tea Party is all about fiscal responsibility," he said and launched into a lecture about the vagaries of taxation, constitutionality, Nancy Pelosi, the Department of Education. It went on. Soon, Sullivan challenged him, and the two of them began wrangling back and forth, heatedly. The 20 or so people in the room watched this in silence, as if it were *Hannity* or *Hardball*.

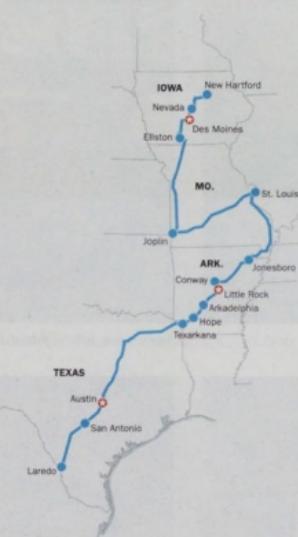
All of which had taken 15 minutes. But Amsden had now assumed a certain dominance. He wasn't particularly loud or angry—he was quite intelligent, in fact—but he was persistent. He had views on everything. As we moved from topic to topic, Amsden always had a theory. There were others who spoke, but much of the group, especially the other Republicans in the room, lapsed into silence. Afterward, I took an informal survey of the silent Republicans, all of them men, and found that they didn't agree with Amsden's views. They were more traditional conservatives. I asked one why he didn't speak up, and he said, "I don't like to get involved in public disputes."

I: How to Build a Megaphone

THE MEETING IN ST. LOUIS—ONE OF DOZENS of conversations I had during a 19-day road trip, south to north through the middle of the country—seemed a perfect metaphor for our national conversation: noisy activists, like the Tea Partyers and the anti-Wall Street protesters, were sucking the oxygen out of the room. And yet most of the meetings I attended, which were organized by *TIME* readers and CNN viewers, were not like that at all. They were populated by self-described traditional conservatives and moderate Democrats. Tea Partisans like Amsden were rare, although I did attend one Patriot Party meeting in Texarkana, Ark., in which Mitt Romney Republicanism was universally shunned. (Rick Perry, Ron Paul and Herman Cain were the candidates of choice.) Old-fashioned liberals were nowhere to be found; the Wall Street protest movement hadn't yet made the radar screen, although there was more anti-Wall Street bailout and anticorporate sentiment among the Texarkana Tea Partyers than among any Democrats I spoke with. Sullivan, the moderate Democrat who challenged Amsden, was typically cautious about government spending. "A lot of the stuff [Lyndon Johnson] tried in the Great Society ran amok," he said.

But the fascination with the Tea Party was universal; it was the dominant topic

Points of View. From the Rio Grande to the Midwest



of conversation. Most people viewed the phenomenon with a mixture of horror and admiration. They opposed most Tea Party policies and were appalled by the belligerent rhetoric, but they were impressed by the fact that average Americans had built themselves a large enough megaphone to get the attention of the politicians in Washington. Unlike the Wall Street protesters, the Tea Partisans have been clear about their agenda. Their congressional caucus staged the moral equivalent of a sit-down strike for smaller government—and escaped much of the blame for the resulting gridlock, which most people I spoke with placed at the feet of President Obama and congressional leaders. "The two parties can't come to a consensus even when the solution is obvious," said Jim Phillips, president of the Arkansas State Dental Association, who introduced me to some of his members over dinner at a country club in Jonesboro. He was talking about the federal deficit. The obvious solution, universally supported by everyone I spoke with except the Tea Partyers, was some variation of the \$3 trillion deal that the President and House Speaker John Boehner nearly reached in July, with a mix of higher taxes and spending cuts.

"The Tea Party changed everything," said Billy Tarpley, who works for the den-

tal association. "They said all the things people wanted to hear in last year's elections. A lot of it was coffee-shop talk"—the crazy, ill-informed stuff people growl about at the local café. As a result, he added, "Nothing's getting done. I want to say to the Tea Party folks, You are now them!" There was a general sense that Tea Party mania was simmering down. "I used to think I was a libertarian," said Drew Ramey, who also works for the dentists. "I wanted government to get off our backs. But I guess I'm getting a little older. I like my roads now. I like my public services."

II: Sanity in the Heartland

RAMAY'S ABILITY TO STAND BACK, LOOK AT himself and laugh was refreshingly common among the people I interviewed. On last year's road trip, the fear and anguish, the sense of American collapse was still raw. But last year I traveled through the Rust Belt and talked to people whose home values had tanked, whose neighbors had lost their jobs. This year I met more of the small-business people mythologized by the Republican Party, and I traveled through a more conservative part of the country. The people I encountered were a diverse group—I met with Latino activists in Laredo, on the Mexican border, and with a black women's book club in Texas—but there was a common, contemplative thread, as if Americans had been coming to terms with the scope of the economic disaster and trying to figure out what sort of expectations were reasonable for themselves, their children and the country. It seemed a quiet revival of the Great Silent Majority, grappling with drastic new circumstances. Their commentary was far more reasoned and thoughtful than the breathless tide of sensationalism and vitriol that passes for discourse on talk radio and the cable news networks.

Indeed, a new *TIME* poll reflects the fierce sense of civility and moderation, and deep concern about the country's future, that I found all along the way. There is an overwhelming sense—81% of those surveyed—that America is on the wrong track, 71% believe the country is in decline, 60% believe the media and politicians don't reflect their view of what's really important, and a staggeringly wonderful 89% believe that politicians should compromise on major issues like the deficit rather than take a hard line. Nearly three-quarters think there should be higher taxes for millionaires. Only 11% identify themselves as supporters of the Tea Party; 25% say they're angry, but 70% describe themselves merely

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"America needs affordable energy."

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as upset or concerned about the country.

The Americans I spoke with were not rutted in ideology; they were open to new ideas. The black women in Austin had been watching the Republican presidential debates, and one of them, a lawyer, said she was interested in former Senator Rick Santorum's notion of eliminating corporate income taxes on manufacturers. "That might get things moving again," she said, and none of the other women disputed her. The Arkansas dentists thought George W. Bush should have imposed a tax to pay for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

There was tolerance for the President—outside of Planet Tea Party, where the most disgraceful and, dare I say, un-American insinuations still fester. Obama is assumed to be intelligent and honest. He is assumed to be trying hard to find compromises between the parties on most issues, and he is also assumed to be in over his head, a good man who has proved to be a disappointing leader. "He was always going to have some trouble down here in the South," said Mike Coats, a restaurateur in Conway, Ark., "because of existing prejudices."

"He might have had a shot if he hadn't come out so extreme," said Tab Townsell, the mayor of Conway. "If he didn't start out with health care and cap and trade, if he had stayed focused on the economy."

Townsell and Coats were part of a group of local business leaders assembled by a TIME reader named John Sanson, a young African-American Hewlett-Packard employee. We were having lunch at Coats' restaurant in downtown Conway, and it was striking, almost like time travel: these were mostly the sort of Main Street Republicans who had dominated that party in the B.T. era (before Tea). They had a story to tell about the revival of their city, largely accomplished with government subsidies. "We love earmarks," said Jamie Gates, a clever fellow who manages the local Chamber of Commerce and described himself as a Third Way supporter. Federal earmarks helped with the renovation of downtown, a pleasant tree-lined and flower-basketed area. Federal and state subsidies helped expand the local airport to accommodate corporate jets, while local funds built the infrastructure in an industrial park. The group even lobbied the Arkansas alcohol-control board to enable Coats to sell liquor by the drink in his restaurant. "We needed restaurants that could offer people a bottle of wine with their pasta," Gates said, "if we were going to lure new businesses to town."

And they succeeded: Hewlett-Packard agreed to set up a regional sales-and-service facility in town, with at least 1,000



Joplin, Mo. Federal aid is helping the town rebuild, but local efforts matter more

new jobs. "There's been some pushback from the Tea Party folks about the price tag," said Townsell, "but most people in town support what we've done." The mayor added that he was worried that if the Tea Party tide in Washington continued to rise, cities like Conway wouldn't be able to grow and lure new businesses. "I've never voted for a Democrat for President in my life, but I might have to this time if it looks like the Republicans are going to control both the House and the Senate."

III: What's Wrong with America

A YEAR AGO, IN THE UPPER MIDWEST, TALK of American decline was everywhere. There was a fair amount of anger directed at the Wall Street financial speculators who destroyed the housing market and at the Chinese for absconding with American manufacturing jobs. This year, in the

lower Midwest, there was still plenty of talk about American decline—but it was surprisingly introspective. "The Chinese are screwed in the long term," said Jamie Gates, the Chamber of Commerce senior vice president in Conway. "Their economy is artificially hyperproductive right now, but you can't fight Mother Nature." China's population is aging more rapidly than ours. "So there's an opening for us, if we put the pedal to the metal."

Most people were looking at the present, not the distant future, and they were far more pessimistic. "If I'm going to be really honest," said the Arkansas dentists' Jim Phillips, "in my gut, I think we've peaked." And who was to blame for American decline? There were two prevailing theories. The government was to blame, said the Tea Partisans and more traditional conservatives. There was a steady patter of protest against the growth of federal disability payments distributed by the Social Security Administration, which have taken the place of welfare for those without the physical or intellectual wherewithal to work—\$48 billion a year going to nearly 8 million recipients, including more than 200,000 children suffering from attention-deficit disorder. "It's all about Big Pharma and their lobbying machine," said Sandra Powell, at the Patriot Party meeting in Texarkana. "They lobby to make ADD a disability so they can get a new generation of children strung out on Ritalin." (According to the TIME poll, 60% agreed with the Tea Party position on excessive dependency.)

There were similar feelings about government regulations, like the Dodd-Frank

**'I USED TO
THINK I WAS
A LIBERTARIAN.
BUT I LIKE
MY ROADS NOW.
I LIKE MY PUBLIC
SERVICES.'**

—DREW RAMEY, JONESBORO, ARK.

financial-reform act, which had made it more difficult for banks to give loans and small-business people to get them. "Most of our banks are solid," said Mike Beebe, the governor of Arkansas and a wildly popular Democratic politician, with an 82% approval rate. "But the feds did what they always do. They shotgunned that bill through, one size fits all. They should have concentrated on fixing the problems where they occurred instead of punishing people down here who were doing the right thing."

But there was a different, deeper conversation going on among those who didn't blame the government for all our ills—that is, among the vast majority of people I spoke with. There was a sense that the unprecedented affluence of the past 60 years had caused a certain lassitude, that we weren't working as hard as we used to. "Our parents had to deal with the ups and downs of life," said Renita Bankhead, a member of the Austin book club. "We've had so many ups that we never really learned how to deal with the downs."

One afternoon in St. Louis, I had coffee with five young men who were students at Washington University. Most of them came from privileged backgrounds, and they talked about how some of their classmates were shocked that there wouldn't be fabulous jobs awaiting them upon graduation. "I went to a private school in North Carolina," said Viraj Doshi, "and most of my classmates were lazy. They came from wealthy families, and they always assumed they'd have money and great jobs. All you had to do was go to college. Now they're lost." I asked whether that was true of women, who are graduating at a higher rate than men these days. The responses were rapid-fire: Oh, no, women work harder. There's a culture of slacking among the guys. Guys play video games more than women do. They watch sports on TV. "You go to the library," said Steve White, the *Time* reader who had assembled the group, "and 75% of the people there are women."

There seemed a general agreement, across all the groups I met with, that Americans had gotten soft and lost their competitive edge. And there were very few remedies on offer. But Richard Meyer, a thoughtful orthodontist from Little Rock, Ark., raised one possibility over dinner with his fellow dentists: "Do we really need all this stuff we've accumulated? I can be a happy camper in a house half the size of the one I've got. I don't have to drive here in a BMW. Maybe we don't need to concentrate on consumer goods to be happy."

I remembered this great lyric by Bruce Springsteen, "We'd better start savin' up for

'WE ALL HAVE SOMETHING IN COMMON NOW. WE SURVIVED... I CALL IT THE MIRACLE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT.'

—MARK ROHR, JOPLIN, MO.

the things that money can't buy." The song stuck in my brain and reverberated when I got to Joplin, Mo., a few days later and spent a weekend there amid the devastation.

IV: What's Right with America

"THIS IS WHAT A NORMAL TORNADO LOOKS like," said Mitch Randles, fire chief of Joplin. We were driving along the path of the tornado that destroyed a broad swath of the city on May 22. We were in a fairly affluent neighborhood on the southwest side of town. A few houses were destroyed, a few roofs torn off, trees downed. "It was like a Category 2 out here, which is what you normally get—some damage, some injuries, maybe a death." We drove east. In the next neighborhood, more affluent, there was a similar amount of damage even though the houses were brick and stronger; the storm was building strength, Category 3. We curled down a hill to a pond where one of the bodies had been found; a young man who had just graduated from high school had been thrown about a mile. And then up another hill and at the top ...

Category 5. It looked like Hiroshima. The devastation was almost a mile wide and 6 miles long. A few stray buildings still standing. A few homes being rebuilt. It was just shocking. Bodies had been strewn everywhere, 162 of them; 4,000 homes were destroyed. Mark Rohr, the city manager, a big, quiet man with a severe flattop haircut, still teared up when he talked about what he saw that night. "We all have something in common now," he said. "We survived. And something has happened here. I call it the miracle of the human spirit."

Joplin, prestorm, was just another small city—a market and distribution center, a land of strip malls and chain stores: the Great American Anywhere. But

it was different now. Jay St. Clair, one of 14 ministers at the College Heights Christian Church, talked about the ghostly, godly silence after the storm. Months later, the silence was still there in the tornado area; the only sound was the wind whipping through the stripped, bludgeoned and decapitated trees. The only possible reaction to the silence was awe, and the awe had informed a new sense of purpose.

Joplin's disaster was more cataclysmic for its residents than the 2008 financial collapse and deep recession that stunned the nation, but Joplin's reaction held some lessons for the rest of us. The federal government could help. There was gratitude that what could amount to \$450 million in federal funds was on its way. But the crucial variable was not federal. A critical mass of Joplin's populace had been forced to become citizens again. They were activists now, intent on helping those who had suffered in the storm, and passionate about the shape and success of the city's recovery. They had taken charge of their future; they had regained the sense of community that so many other Americans had lost in the affluent wash of decades of good fortune.

That Sunday, the College Heights Church, and some of the others in town and even some congregations from other states, held their eighth annual Great Day of Service. Thousands of people divided into work crews. The day before, thousands of young people had participated in a Cannabis Revival festival—America can be a brilliantly weird place at times—that had raised money for disaster-relief projects; the pot smokers and Evangelicals had found common cause in rebuilding their community.

I found a church group from West Virginia cleaning up a modest, middle-class neighborhood adjacent to the path of the tornado. They went door to door, asking residents if they needed any help, if they wanted their lawns mowed or raked. Pretty soon, the street was humming with electric mowers and trimmers, with rakes and brooms. I put away my notebook and picked up a broom. I worked with a big fellow named Todd. He told me about the various service projects he and his church had joined. There was always a feeling of accomplishment, he said. And he was right: the street looked a lot better after we had bagged the dirt and branches and refuse. I was going to ask Todd what he felt about the state of the country, but that suddenly seemed ... irrelevant. We were at work, on a beautiful Sunday morning, and it felt good. Todd was inspired by the Lord; I was inspired by Springsteen. We were both saving up for the things that money can't buy.



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*Based on cumulative total return, 11 of 12 (92%), 12 of 12, 10 of 10, and 12 of 12 of the Retirement Funds for individual investors outperformed their Lipper average for the 1-, 3-, and 5-year, and since-inception periods ended 6/30/11, respectively. The Retirement 2010, 2020, 2030, 2040, and Income Funds began operations on 9/30/02; the 2005, 2015, 2025, and 2035 Funds began operations on 2/29/04; the 2045 Fund began operations on 5/31/05; and the 2050 and 2055 Funds began operations on 12/31/08 (and thus do not have a 5-year performance history). (Source for data: Lipper Inc.)

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The Cain Mutiny

What does it mean that the GOP faithful are flocking to Herman Cain?

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

AT THIS POINT IN THE REPUBLICAN presidential campaign, the official script calls for a head-to-head matchup between the two candidates with broad support among the party's elite thinkers and fundraisers: Mitt Romney and Rick Perry. But sometimes the voters throw out the script. And so, at an Oct. 11 debate in New Hampshire, the star was neither of the two Establishment favorites. It was a former pizza mogul who's never held elected office and who until recently was a punch line for political insiders.

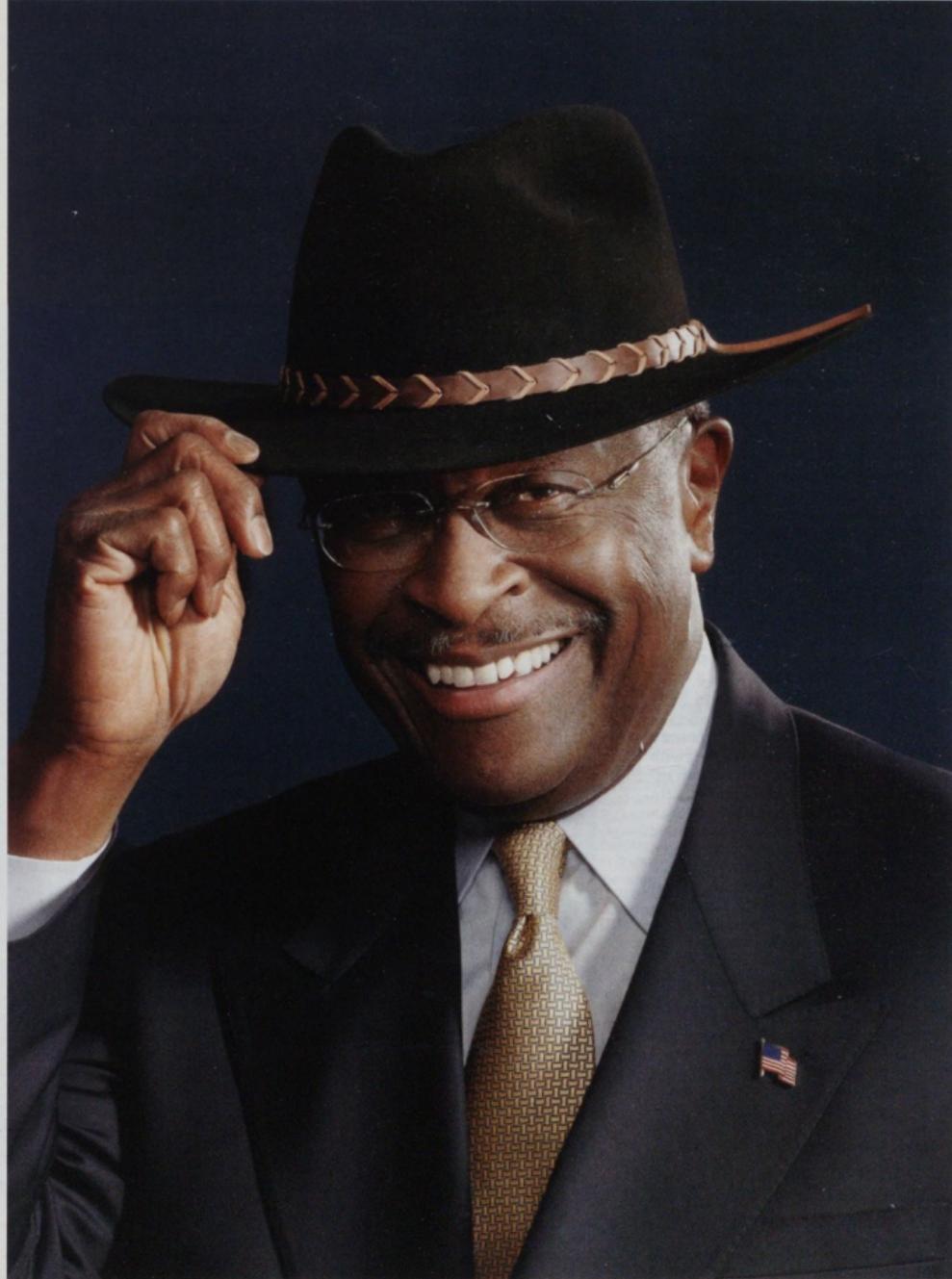
And so now the joke is on the Establishment. Surging in the polls nationally and in key primary states, and lifting voters from their seats with his rousing, sermon-style oratory, Herman Cain is roiling the 2012 presidential race. In New Hampshire, the main topic of conversation wasn't about Romney's economic plan or Perry's Texas record. It was Cain's catchy—some say gimmicky—"9-9-9" tax-reform plan, which would replace the tax code with a 9% flat tax on business and personal income, plus a national sales tax. "Therein lies the difference between me, the nonpolitician, and all of the politicians," Cain said. "They want to pass what they think they can get passed rather than what we need, which is a bold solution. 9-9-9 is bold, and the American people want a bold solution."

Conservative activists seem to want

boldness, but they aren't finding it in either Romney or Perry. So they have turned to the latest candidate offering the promise of a dramatic break from politics as usual. "He's not a politician," says Wayne Sommers of Greenwood, Del., after seeing Cain electrify a crowd of conservatives at the annual Values Voter Summit in Washington this month. "He's real."

Maybe too real to win. Cain, 65, lacks campaign funds, a seasoned campaign team and the support of key party leaders. Some of his aides have quit, saying he is not a serious candidate. He left the campaign this month for a book tour—some say his driving motivation is publicity—and confesses ignorance about Afghanistan and the names of foreign leaders. Other conservative stars, like Michele Bachmann, have ignited and burned out within weeks. Even so, Cain's rise indicates that Republican voters are not ready to close ranks around the race's so-called front runners, relative moderates in comparison to Cain's in-your-face conservatism.

Cain's rivals are hard pressed to compete, for instance, with the simplicity and superficial appeal of his 9-9-9 plan, even if its details remain highly controversial. Conservative economists applaud the idea, but many others say it dramatically favors the rich, could actually raise taxes on the poor and would require huge spending cuts. Cain also delights social



conservatives with his firm views: he opposes abortion even in cases of rape and incest, calls homosexuality a choice and says he would not be comfortable with a Muslim in his Cabinet. (He even delivers sermons at Antioch Baptist Church North in Atlanta.) Republican pollster David Winston says voters love Cain's bombastic style and have "responded to the way he is offering ideas."

Plus, in a campaign that can seem like reality television, the Hermanator, as he likes to call himself, simply puts on a great show. He is America's unluckiest new star, hitting *The Tonight Show* and *The View*, being mocked on *Saturday Night Live* and beaming from the cover of his new memoir, *This Is Herman Cain! My Journey to the White House*. And how many other presidential contenders like to sport black hats and sunglasses or have released their own gospel album? "We have a severe deficiency of leadership," Cain says. The question is whether he's really the kind of leader Republicans are looking for—or just the latest vessel for their intense anti-Establishment frustration.

Unlikely Hero

WHEN CAIN VISITED TIME'S NEW YORK City offices for an interview in early October, he was certainly a man in action. He arrived with campaign staffers and a book publicist, fresh from a meeting with Donald Trump. ("We hit it off right away," Cain said.) His schedule was packed: Cain paused his interview to dial in to Sean Hannity's radio show, a conservative publication was waiting for its own interview, and his press aide had to turn down yet another request. Afterward, he was off to meet a group of wealthy Manhattan donors. And that cowboy hat he posed in for TIME? We supplied one because black hats are a Cain signature. Cain liked it so much, he took it with him; an aide asked our photo editor to send a bill.

It's an unpredictable place to find a man who grew up poor in the segregated South. Cain was born in Memphis and raised in Atlanta, where he lives today. His father was a driver for Coca-Cola's

A Short History of Modern Black Republicans: From moderation to confrontation



Edward Brooke
Liberal Massachusetts Senator fought with Nixon over civil rights but resisted being "a national leader" for blacks



William Coleman Jr.
Gerald Ford's Transportation Secretary, a Harvard lawyer, played a key role in civil rights cases



Colin Powell
Known for middle-of-the-road views, George W. Bush's Secretary of State endorsed Obama in 2008



Clarence Thomas
The conservative high court Justice has said he rejects the "rage" "expected" of blacks in America



Alan Keyes
Ace debater made a sharp case for movement conservatism, pro-life views in repeat presidential bids



Michael Steele
Former party chair offered the GOP a genial black spokesman to challenge Obama



Allen West
Combative Florida Congressman and Iraq-war vet calls for unflinching battle with radical Islam, liberals



Tim Scott
Charleston, S.C., Congressman touts his faith and fights big spending

top executive, as well as a janitor and barber, and his mother was a cleaning lady. A graduate of Atlanta's Morehouse College who completed his master's at Purdue University, Cain studied missile trajectories as a civilian employee of the U.S. Navy before joining the Pillsbury Co. There he turned around a group of some 400 struggling Burger Kings, and in 1986 he took over the company's fledgling Godfather's Pizza chain. Godfather's "lacked focus," Cain says, so he condensed the menu and simplified its marketing. He went on to arrange a leveraged buyout of the company, stayed on as CEO and made millions on its turnaround before stepping down as chief executive in 1996. His story, Cain says, proves that anyone can succeed in America. Creating jobs, he adds, isn't so different from delivering pepperoni pies. "This President does not understand a fundamental economic principle, which is that the business sector is the engine of economic growth."

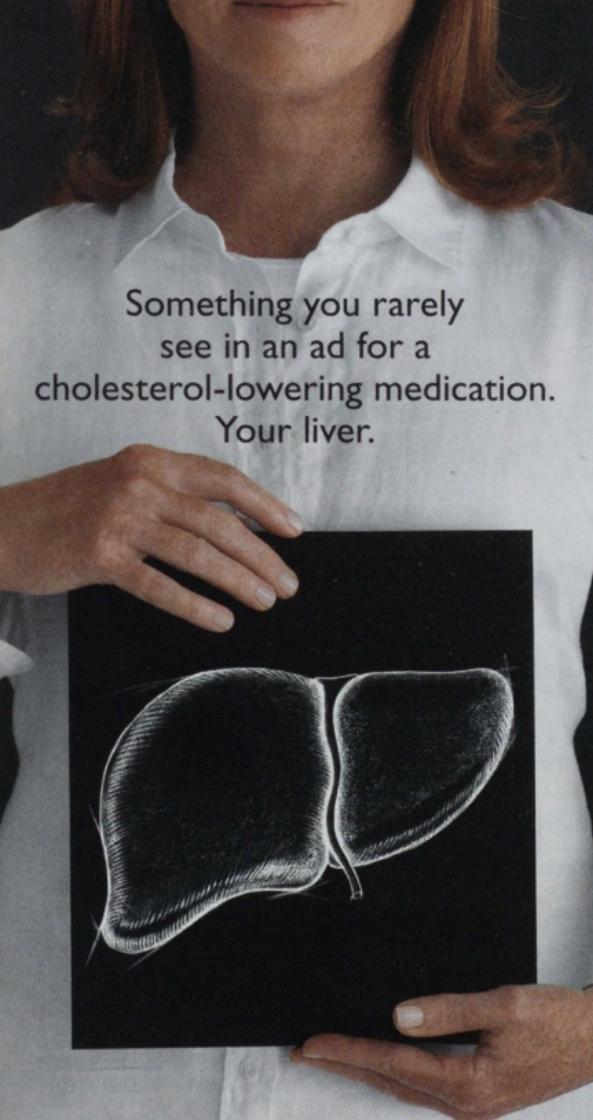
Not that Cain, who survived a severe 2006 bout with colon cancer, is a total newcomer to politics. Republicans first took notice of him in 1994, when Cain forcefully challenged Bill Clinton about the costs of his health care plan during a televised town-hall meeting. (The exchange is now a YouTube hit.) Former GOP Congressman Jack Kemp made him an adviser to the 1996 Dole-Kemp ticket, and Cain tested his own White House bid in 2000. He also mounted a losing U.S. Senate campaign in Georgia four years later. While living in Omaha in the 1990s—Godfather's is based there—he chaired the Kansas City, Mo., arm of the Federal Reserve. And he spent nearly three years in the late '90s running the Washington-based National Restaurant Association, in effect serving as the dining industry's top lobbyist.

Cain strikes some people as an unlikely hero for a Tea Party movement the NAACP and some liberal activists have called racist. But that might work in Cain's favor, since supporting him allows conservative activists to demonstrate a lack of prejudice. "The Republican Party is not rich, old, fat men who smoke cigars," says Melonae Gullick of Conway, Ark., who saw Cain speak in Kansas City on Oct. 1. "To all of those people who say that the Tea Party is a racist organization," Cain says in one online video, "eat your words!"

In fact, the Tea Party touts multiple

'I am a serious candidate ... I don't do things for self-promotion.'

—HERMAN CAIN



Something you rarely see in an ad for a cholesterol-lowering medication. Your liver.

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Anyone with active liver disease should not take LIVALO.

Your doctor should do blood tests to monitor your liver function before starting LIVALO, and then at 12 weeks following the start of LIVALO, after any increase in dose, and periodically (e.g., every 6 months) thereafter.

You might be aware that cholesterol is made in the liver. But did you know approximately 75% of all drugs processed in the body share a common metabolic pathway in the liver? When drugs that share this pathway are taken together or with other drugs that affect this pathway, a drug interaction may occur. LIVALO® (pitavastatin) reduces your cholesterol, but it's not dependent on this pathway in order to be processed. Why is this important? Because knowing how drugs are processed in the body may help avoid certain interactions.

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What is LIVALO?

- LIVALO is a prescription medicine that, along with diet, has been approved for the treatment of high cholesterol. LIVALO has not been studied to evaluate its effect on reducing heart-related disease or death.

Drug Interactions with LIVALO

- If you are taking cyclosporine, you should not take LIVALO.
- Caution should be taken when using LIVALO in combination with other cholesterol drugs like niacin and fibrates, as this may increase your risk of serious muscle problems.
- Some drugs, like erythromycin and rifampin, may lead to drug interactions requiring a lower maximum daily dose of LIVALO, when used in combination.

Important Safety Information for LIVALO® (pitavastatin) Tablets

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LIVALO is not right for everyone, including:

- Those who have had an allergic reaction to LIVALO
- Anyone with active liver disease
- Women who are nursing, pregnant, or who may become pregnant
- Anyone currently taking cyclosporine

What should I talk to my doctor about?

- If you take LIVALO, tell your doctor right away if you experience any unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly if accompanied by fever or a general feeling of discomfort. This could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect.
- Your doctor should do blood tests to monitor your liver function before starting LIVALO, and then at 12 weeks following the start of LIVALO, after any increase in dose, and periodically (e.g., every 6 months) thereafter.
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What are the most common side effects of LIVALO?

The most common side effects of LIVALO in clinical studies were:

• Back pain	• Muscle pain
• Constipation	• Pain in the legs or arms
• Diarrhea	

This is not a complete list of side effects.

Other Important Information about LIVALO

- LIVALO has not been studied to evaluate its effect on reducing heart-related disease or death.
- LIVALO is available by prescription only.

Please see the accompanying Brief Summary or the Full Prescribing Information available at www.LivaloRx.com. PS73370 LIV-RA-0032 8/2011

What else should I know about LIVALO?

- LIVALO can be taken with or without food. It's even okay to continue drinking grapefruit juice.
- LIVALO is available in 1-mg, 2-mg, and 4-mg doses.

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(pitavastatin) tablets

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P573566 LIV-MT-0159

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What is LIVALO?

- LIVALO is a prescription medicine that belongs to a group of cholesterol-lowering medicines called "statins".
- LIVALO, along with diet, lowers total cholesterol, "bad" cholesterol (LDL-C) and triglycerides. It can also raise "good" cholesterol (HDL-C).
- The effect of LIVALO on cardiovascular morbidity and mortality has not been determined.

What is the most important information I should know about LIVALO?

- Muscle Problems called myopathy and rhabdomyolysis may occur at any time. Muscle problems may increase with higher doses, as you get older, with kidney or some thyroid problems, and when LIVALO is used with some other medications.
- Liver tests may become abnormal. Your doctor should do liver tests before you start and while you are taking LIVALO.

Who should NOT take LIVALO?

- Anyone known to be allergic or hypersensitive to LIVALO or any of its ingredients.
- Anyone who has active liver problems, this may include some unexplained, abnormal liver test results.
- Women who are pregnant or may become pregnant, or are nursing mothers.
- Anyone who is taking cyclosporine.

What are the possible side effects of LIVALO?

Serious side effects may include:

- **Muscle problems** may be an early sign of a rare problem that could lead to serious kidney problems. Call your doctor right away if you have any unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly if accompanied by fever or a general feeling of discomfort.
- **Liver problems** may occur. Your doctor should do liver tests before you start and while you are taking LIVALO.

Common side effects include:

- Back pain
- Constipation
- Diarrhea
- Muscle aches and pains
- Pain in the legs or arms

This is not a complete list of side effects of LIVALO. Talk to your health care professional for a complete list.

Can other medications affect your treatment with LIVALO?

Yes, other medications may affect LIVALO, you should consult with your doctor if you take any of the following:

- Erythromycin
- Rifampin
- Other drugs for high cholesterol (i.e., fibrates, niacin)

What should I tell my doctor before taking LIVALO?

Tell your doctor if you:

- are allergic to LIVALO or any of its ingredients (You may get a full list of ingredients from your doctor or pharmacist.)
- are pregnant, think you are pregnant, are planning to become pregnant, or are breast-feeding.
- are having or have been told you have active liver or kidney disease.
- are taking other medications. Discuss all medication, both prescription and over-the-counter, with your doctor.
- consume alcoholic beverages.

How should I store and take LIVALO?

- Store LIVALO at room temperature, in a dry place, protected from light, and keep out of the reach of children.
- LIVALO can be taken at any time of day, with or without food.
- Swallow the tablet whole. Do not split, crush, dissolve, or chew.
- If you take too much LIVALO or you or someone else takes an overdose, call your doctor and/or local Poison Control Center.

The information provided is not complete. Please see the Full Prescribing Information available at www.LivaloRx.com.

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LIVALO® (pitavastatin) tablets
LIV-RA-0033 – PS73369 08/2011



Cain is able The former pizza mogul wins over conservative voters with a simple pro-business, antigovernment message and plenty of charm

Limbaugh, and Cain backpedaled. "I in no way believe that was a reflection of Governor Perry in terms of his attitude toward black people," he says.

What's in It for Him?

THE BIG QUESTION BEHIND THE CAIN HYPE is whether it's just that. Is he after real votes—or just fame and fortune? (He's had his own radio show for more than a decade and is a motivational speaker who can win five-figure sums on the lecture circuit.) Cain has mostly been off the campaign trail this month for his book tour. His top aides in Iowa and New Hampshire quit this summer, saying he wasn't making a real effort. "I am a serious candidate," Cain insists, noting that he is already wealthy. "I don't do things for self-promotion."

Still, Cain can seem ill prepared for the presidential stage. He says he won't offer

a plan for Afghanistan until experts brief him in the Oval Office. Asked this spring about Middle East peace, Cain seemed unfamiliar with the crucial concept of a right of return for Palestinian refugees. He has also confessed to having "little knowledge" of Islam and fretted that "many" Muslims "are not totally dedicated to this country." And being a relative political novice can make for dangerously blunt statements. Asked on Oct. 5 about anti-Wall Street protesters, for instance, Cain declared, "If you don't have a job and you're not rich, blame yourself."

While pundits may criticize Cain for such talk, his fan base only seems to grow. His friend and former Republican National Committee chairman Michael Steele calls Cain's surge a testament to the party's fierce anti-Establishment mood. "He has managed to outwit the smart intelligentsia of the GOP and position himself with the base, the people actually doing the voting," Steele says. If nothing else, that's a loud wake-up call for the GOP's supposed front runners. —WITH REPORTING BY KAREN BALL/KANSAS CITY

black heroes at the moment. In addition to Cain, there are the House freshmen Allen West of Florida and Tim Scott of South Carolina, both extremely combative partisans. Together they join more familiar names like Alan Keyes and Clarence Thomas in espousing a hard-line brand of conservatism rare among past generations of black politicians. "The black conservatives we are seeing today are kind of a new phenomenon" and are more ideological than their forebears, says Shelby Steele, who studies racial identity at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. Cain writes that he was shaped by his father's admonition not to feel like a victim or resent America because of racism. "I'm not mad at America," he told Hannity. "I'm proud of this country."

Although he claims he can win one-third of the black vote, Cain doesn't dwell on race. But the topic can trip him up. After reports surfaced that Perry had leased a property with a racially offensive name, Cain said the Texan had been "plain insensitive." Even that mild criticism annoyed conservatives like Rush

EDUCATION

A Separate Peace?

A gay-friendly school shields kids from bullies. But to some critics, self-segregation isn't the answer

BY KAYLA WEBLEY / MILWAUKEE

THE TAUNTING STARTED FOUR years ago, when Dylan Huegerich was 10. Back then, he didn't know what being gay meant, and even today the soft-spoken teenager isn't sure where he fits on the spectrum of sexual orientation. He knows he's different. He knows that his sense of style—his chin-length hair, his dabbling with makeup—caught the eyes of school bullies in Saukville, Wis. In seventh grade he was pelted with snowballs and shoved into lockers. Everywhere he went on campus, students shouted anti-gay slurs and pointed and stared. "It hurt so bad," he says. "I hated my life. I hated everything."

His mother Amy tried to intervene. She says she was told it was her son's fault for standing out and that he should cut his hair or try to act "more manly," allegations the principal declined to comment on. Dylan's mother considered volunteering in his classroom or the cafeteria, but that wouldn't protect him the rest of the time. Every morning, she says, "I knew I was driving him back to this place where he was hurting. Oh, they beat you up? Here, go there again. My heart broke every

time he got out of the car." When the time came to register Dylan for eighth grade, she decided against re-enrollment. "I felt like if I turned in those forms, I was giving him some kind of a sentence," she says.

So instead of sending Dylan back to a school that was a 10-minute drive from his house, his mother opted for the publicly funded Alliance School, an hour and a half away in downtown Milwaukee. The only overtly gay-friendly charter school in the U.S. to accept students as early as the sixth grade, Alliance has several boys who, with their painted nails and longer hairstyles, look like Dylan. But more important, it has many students who say they know how Dylan feels. While only about half of Alliance's 165-member student body identifies as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT), nearly all were bullied or harassed at their previous schools. The hallways are filled with masculine girls, effeminate boys, punks, goths, runts, the overweight and the ultra-nerds. Alliance art teacher Jill Engel affectionately calls the school "the island of misfit toys."

The Alliance School is a radical solution to a much debated problem. Children have long been taunted with homophobic slurs, but a recent string of high-profile suicides has led school and government officials to pay more attention to this subset of bullying victims. Nine out of 10 LGBT students say they have experienced bullying or harassment, according to a nationwide survey of 7,261 middle and high school students conducted in 2009 by the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN). Nearly two-thirds of respondents said they have felt unsafe in school; 1 in 5 reported having been physically assaulted.

Parents want to protect their kids, but is wrapping them in an Alliance-style cocoon of tolerance the best solution? Some conservatives oppose the idea of a gay-friendly school on moral grounds, others for fiscal reasons: Why should taxpayers help make sexuality a central part of a child's or a school's identity? Developmental experts—and many gay activists—question the wisdom of shielding some students rather than teaching kids coping skills and promoting an atmosphere of respect on all campuses.



School spirit Jayde LaPorte, right, a transgender ninth-grader, and Robbie Moore attend Milwaukee's Alliance School

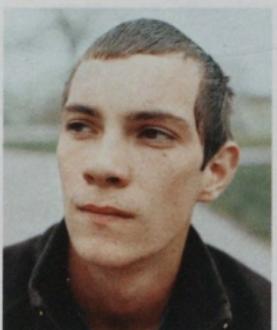
"Being segregated doesn't help gay kids learn, it doesn't help straight kids learn, it doesn't help bullies learn," says Ritch Savin-Williams, a professor at Cornell University who chairs the human-development department. "All it does is relieve the school and the teachers of responsibility. It's a lose-lose situation all around." And yet to some bullying victims, it's nothing short of a lifeline.

A Place to Walk Tall

IT WASN'T ALL THAT LONG AGO THAT people didn't contemplate coming out at school until college. In 1974, students at Rutgers University began a tradition called Gay Jeans Day, during which heterosexuals could show their solidarity with gays by wearing jeans to class. This setup meant that homophobes—as well as libertarians and anyone else who didn't like being forced to make a statement—had to choose whether to draw attention to themselves by wearing something else. But as people have started coming out at younger ages, many middle and high schools have become staging grounds for more-involved demonstrations, such as the Day of Silence in April, when participants refuse to speak even in class in order to raise awareness of what many gays say is a forced silence, and National Coming Out Day on Oct. 11. That date was chosen to commemorate a gay-rights march in Washington in 1987, but the timing can be tough, particularly for younger students, forcing a high-pressure will-they-or-won't-they moment on them less than two months into the school year.

At Alliance, it's a different story. Founded in 2005, the high school expanded to include middle schoolers in 2009, and its students have somehow managed to create an environment in which everyone's sexuality is on the table and yet at the same time is almost a nonissue. After "What's your name?" and "Where are you from?" often the next getting-to-know-you question is "Are you gay or straight?" For many kids, the answer is "I don't know yet," and that's fine too.

Jayde LaPorte might as well be the school's mascot. A transgender ninth-grader who was born as a boy named Luis, she walks Alliance's halls in three-inch heels, with long, salon-perfect hair (it's a wig) and silver earrings so huge, they



Gay-straight alliance The school's goal is inclusiveness. From top, senior Amber Herold; last year's valedictorian, Kendra Jones; and Jeremy Owen, the founder's son

almost touch her shoulders. It's hard for her to get anywhere quickly because she pauses every few steps to give someone a hug. As a young boy tromping around the house in heels and a balloon-stuffed bra, Jayde was so confused and upset that she remembers thinking about suicide at age 6 or 7. When she arrived at Alliance in seventh grade, she met Robbie Moore, who is now in 11th grade and whom Jayde calls her "tranny sister." He helped Jayde learn how to do her makeup and hair and walk in heels. "Robbie is filling a space in the corners of her eyes. 'He's teaching me everything I need."

That kind of support is the goal at Alliance. Instead of being tormented, Jayde and Robbie can walk tall, in heels or whatever else they feel like wearing. "I always felt these kids could survive in other places, but they could thrive here," says Alliance's founder and lead teacher, Tina Owen. She decided to start the school after she was ousted at a large Milwaukee high school where she worked as an English teacher. After word spread, she decided her sexuality may as well be all the way out. She hung rainbow curtains in her classroom and painted the radiators in rainbow colors. "I wanted kids to know they were O.K., that there was a safe space here," she says. But even though she was running a Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) club after school, she heard stories of students being assaulted in the hallways and called gay slurs. She noticed some kids were skipping school more often and then would stop showing up at all. "They were trying to be strong and carry the load, but they were dropping right before my eyes," she says.

Owen decided to try to replicate the GSA atmosphere on a round-the-clock, campuswide basis. Her model was New York City's Harvey Milk High School, which opened in September 2003 and serves about 100 students each year. Harvey Milk is an offshoot of an after-school program started by the Hetrick-Martin Institute that since 1985 has been providing health and counseling services, tutoring, college prep and elective courses to LGBT students. Another charter school, which opened last year on the grounds of the Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center, offers independent study—rather than regular classes—to students in grades 7

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through 12. Like Alliance, these schools carefully word their mission statements to avoid even the slightest whiff of bias against nongays. New York was once sued amid demands to revoke funding for the Harvey Milk School on the grounds that it violated the city's antidiscrimination laws. The suit was eventually settled when the school made it clear that it is designed for but not limited to LGBT students.

De Facto Segregation

EACH OF THESE SCHOOLS IS FORCED TO walk a fine line in creating a safe space that is welcoming to LGBT students without alienating or excluding others. That was precisely the challenge a group of staff members and students at Chicago's High School for Social Justice encountered in 2008 when they tried to open a gay-friendly school in the Windy City. Though the proposal was welcomed in community forums and given a green light by then superintendent Arne Duncan, who a few months later was named Secretary of Education by President Obama, two distinct opposition groups came forward. The first was a group of ministers who argued that since gay teens are not the only ones being bullied, taxpayer dollars should not be used to provide a special school for them. "It's not fair," the Rev. Wilfredo De Jesus, an Evangelical minister, told the *Chicago Journal*.

The other source of opposition was the gay community itself. "We had the most resistance from within the LGBT community," says principal Chad Weiden, who ended up rescinding the proposal. The project's gay critics, some of whom referred to it as Homo High, suggested that such a school would not only create the impression that intolerance would be permitted everywhere else but also leave its sheltered graduates unprepared to deal with the sometimes harsh realities of being a gay person in America. "I believe ultimately the only real answer is integration," says Savin-Williams, the Cornell professor who for more than two decades has studied the experiences of gay youth. "We need to provide normal educational experiences for these kids. They see themselves as a part of mainstream society and really want to be a part of it all."

That's why many school districts, instead of opening separate gay-friendly schools, are trying to build acceptance of



'It hurt so bad. I hated my life. I hated everything.'

—DYLAN HUEGERICH, 14, who transferred to Alliance after being bullied in seventh grade

LGBT students from within. San Francisco Unified School District, for example, has placed a full-time liaison at each middle and high school to educate everyone about the effects of harassment and help manage clubs designed to promote students' acceptance of one another. "We're sending a message that we respect all students in our schools," says Kevin Gogin, manager of the citywide program, which has been in place since 1991.

Other districts have chosen to use kits from GLSEN that provide "Safe Space" stickers and posters as well as a guide on how to build a support network for LGBT students. Since GLSEN started its awareness campaign last November, 15,000 Safe Space kits have been distributed nationwide; the state of Idaho recently ordered one for each of its high schools. There has also been an uptick in the number of GSAs, from a single club in Massachusetts

in 1998 to more than 4,000 clubs nationwide. According to GLSEN's 2009 survey, LGBT students in schools with a GSA club were less likely to feel unsafe because of their sexual orientation and heard fewer homophobic remarks than their peers at schools without such a club.

Though GSAs and other efforts work to promote a climate of respect, progress is often slow, and advocates for schools like Alliance say there is no reason LGBT students should be forced to endure hardship until society gets to the point where all schools are safe for all students. "Acceptance is not happening fast enough," says Weiden. "We need to help these kids by providing them a better option, a safe space, right now."

Meanwhile, Owen fields calls nearly every day from parents and administrators at Milwaukee-area schools about students who would like to transfer to Alliance, whose charter is likely to be renewed in the spring without much of a fight. She also gets calls from teachers across the country seeking advice on how to decrease bullying. She is happy to dispense some tips but makes clear that not even Alliance has managed to eradicate such behavior. A few weeks ago, one of its ninth-graders created an "I hate so-and-so" Facebook page about another kid at Alliance. But students didn't stand idly by. They alerted Owen within minutes of the page's existence, and she quickly got the boy to take it down. The following week, a group of students met to discuss an appropriate punishment. They decided to have the ninth-grader apologize directly to the student he had targeted and also to the entire student body over the school's intercom system.

Dylan Huergerich followed the fracas on Facebook, but he's no longer attending Alliance; the 90-minute commute was just too long. He didn't feel ready to face the bullies at his local school, so his mother opted to enroll him in an online academy. That doesn't mean, however, that he's holed up alone at home. He recently attended a homecoming dance at his boyfriend's school, and though people said nasty things as the two boys made their way inside, Dylan notes, somewhat optimistically, that the trash talkers were parents rather than students. He adds, "It seems like my generation is getting over it."

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The Little Car That Couldn't

What the failure of Tata's Nano teaches us about aspirational purchases in the developing world

BY JYOTI THOTTAM/NEW DELHI



BEFORE THE TATA NANO EVER HIT the roads, environmentalists issued ominous predictions about the impact of the world's cheapest car. If Tata Motors achieved its goal of shifting to the Nano some of the 13 million Indians annually who buy motorcycles, it would add hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of cars to the country's congested roads every year. Global efforts to cut carbon emissions and curb climate change would be for naught. The Nano became an emblem of the Malthusian downside of emerging-

market success: increasing pressure on the world's limited resources.

We can all relax now. More than two years after the first Nano rolled out of the factory in July 2009, only 130,000 have been sold, and its monthly sales figures in India are well below those of more expensive vehicles like the Maruti 800 and the Ford Figo, popular brands in the next highest category of small, cheap cars. When Tata Motors launched the Nano, it was so concerned about being unable to meet demand that it offered prebooking and drew up a waiting list. This year the company even resorted to offering \$400 cash discounts to perk up sales before the big Diwali holiday on Oct. 26.

Why would the world's cheapest car need a discount? Auto analysts recite a litany of missteps and just plain bad luck, from a supply chain disrupted by political protests to a safety scare to pricing that didn't quite hit the promised 100,000-ruppee threshold to a market strategy that underestimated just how upwardly mobile Indian society has become. The resulting tale offers surprising lessons about developing-world markets: that price isn't everything and that creating aspirational homegrown brands, as well as entirely new consumer markets, is a tricky business.

The Nano's problems began well before production, when farmers who had been displaced by the original Nano factory in the eastern Indian town of Singur held a series of protests over inadequate compensation offered by the state, which has the right to acquire farmland for industrial development. Construction continued despite the controversy in Singur, which eventually became a cautionary tale of how India's outdated land-acquisition laws are stifling growth. After several violent clashes between police and protesters, Tata Motors chairman Ratan Tata abruptly shuttered the Singur factory. He decided to build a new one in the western Indian city of Sanand and insisted that the Nano would be launched as planned in spring 2009. The only way to do that was to temporarily shift operations to an



Under fire Protests erupted after Tata Motors acquired land for a Nano factory in Singur

existing plant and slash the first year's production target to 50,000, from 250,000.

That disruption may have undermined the original premise of the Nano—a car at a price competitive with motorcycles'. Abdul Majeed, an auto-practice leader for PricewaterhouseCoopers in Chennai, says that despite the worldwide publicity for the one-lakh, or 100,000-ruppee (\$2,000), car, the actual tab after taxes, transportation costs and basic add-ons like air-conditioning was closer to \$3,700. With reduced capacity, Tata Motors could not get the volume needed to maintain the promised price. At the higher amount, the Nano was competing not with motorcycles but with established small cars like the Maruti 800, which begins at about \$4,500. If customers can get "a slightly better vehicle for not much more money," Majeed says, they will, and Nano's edge disappears. "I think the fundamental reason is pricing."

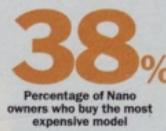
Tata Motors rejects that criticism, saying surveys show customers are satisfied with the pricing. The one-lakh figure, says a spokesman, was just a goal for the engineers, but it was always meant to be the base price for a car fresh off the factory floor.

Fairly or not, the Nano's nickname reflects its extreme engineering. Not only were the usual compact features stripped out, but the Nano was also designed and built from scratch, minimizing curves and the number of components in order to

simplify production. Its widely admired engineering wasn't enough, though, to get people to buy it. Tata Motors had 200,000 preorders for Nanos in the months after the launch, but with so few cars in production, each sales outlet had just one Nano. Dealers were not allowed to send them out for test drives, so customers could only look at the car. A mere 30,000 Nanos were sold in the first year.

Tata Motors also didn't bother to advertise the car right away, so the only message that potential customers heard was the worst possible kind: there were at least six reported cases of Nanos catching fire, in one instance while the owner was driving the car home from the dealership after purchasing it. (No one was injured.) Murad Ali Baig, an auto analyst and columnist in New Delhi, says the company did not give a clear explanation quickly enough about what happened to the cars. That lack of clarity, he says, "created a great deal of anxiety that the car might not be as safe as it's cracked up to be."

Tata Motors, which claims the car is perfectly safe, eventually traced all the problems to "foreign objects" that had gotten lodged in the car or unauthorized equipment that had been installed. The company also added a shield to the catalytic converter, which gets very hot, to reduce the risk of combustion. Still, the damage was done. By November 2010, monthly sales had dipped as low as 509 units.



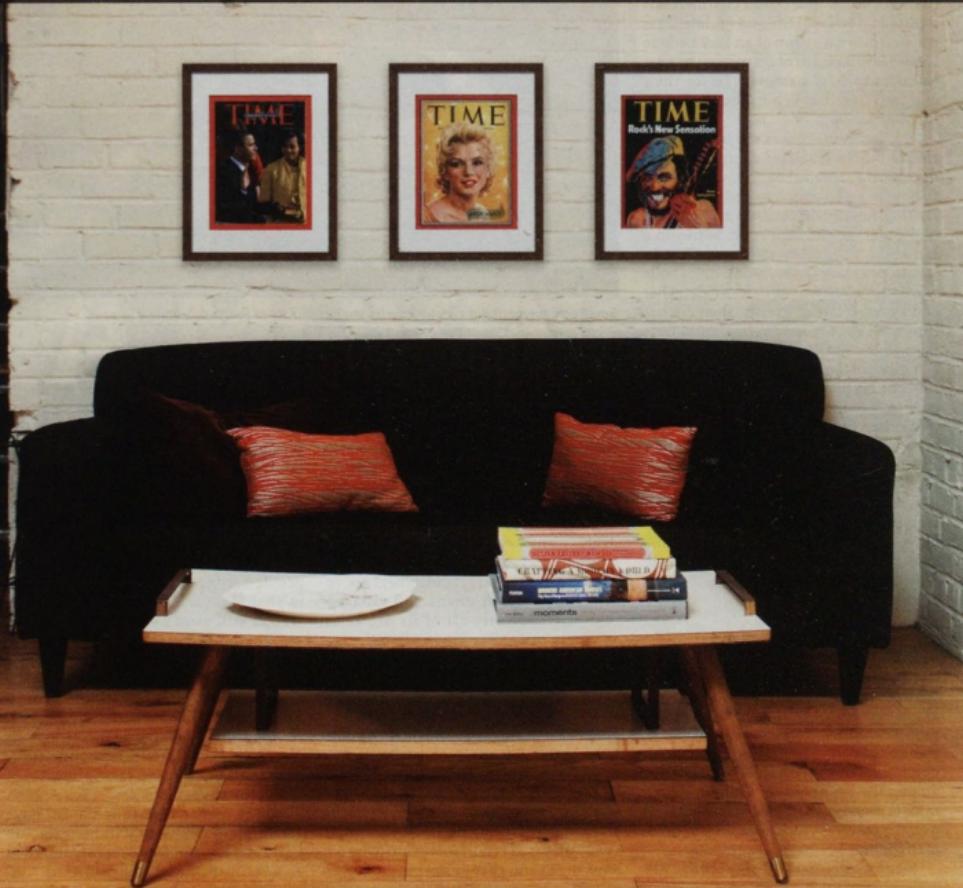
38%
Percentage of Nano
owners who buy the
most expensive model

'The Indian market has shown that it's willing to move up. Money isn't everything.'

—MURAD ALI BAIG, AUTO ANALYST

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The Nano's first marketing campaign—which began in December 2010, to coincide with the beginning of nationwide open sales—tried to right things with ads that stressed the practical virtues of the car: its sturdiness and its fuel efficiency. Television commercials stressed traditional life and middle-class respectability, a vision of an India where an entire village turns up to greet its first Nano and where parents wait for their children to fall asleep in the car before holding hands.

Yet this strategy was out of step with that of the Nano's stated competition, India's most successful motorcycle makers. In one slick ad, the Bollywood heartthrob Hrithik Roshan descends from a moving helicopter, action-hero style, while on a Hero bike. In another, movie star Priyanka Chopra plays a sassy small-town belle who takes a hapless suitor for a ride on her cherry-red Pleasure scooter, then ditches him with the tagline "Why should boys have all the fun?"

Critics of the Nano's ad campaign say it missed a big part of the reason Indians buy cars: they aspire to a life that's more glamorous than the one they know. Even those who have bought Nanos reflect that, since 38% of them opted for the most expensive model and only 20% went for the basic one. "The Indian market has shown that it's willing to move up," says Baig. "Money isn't everything." Baig, who drives a Nano in his posh South Delhi neighborhood, says Tata Motors would do better to aim its marketing at consumers like him, a small but influential group of "reverse snobs" who can afford any car but like the Nano because it's famous and convenient. A few high-profile Nano drivers among India's 190,000 millionaire households might do a lot to popularize it among the country's 100 million-strong middle class—a market that has doubled over the past five years, according to Goldman Sachs.

Meanwhile, Tata's competitors are starting to figure out the complexities of the Indian mass market. Ford, for example, has avoided the ultra-low-cost-car category in India and has sold 115,000 of the \$7,500 Figo since its launch in March 2010. Michael Boneham, managing director of Ford India, estimates that 70% of the Indian car market lies in the \$7,300-to-\$12,200 range. "Beyond that, the volume drops off pretty quickly," he says. In marketing the Figo, Ford emphasizes



Small achievement Tata Motors chairman Ratan Tata at the Nano's launch in 2008

the advanced technology, like Bluetooth, available even at the low end. "This perception that Indians want cheap is a little misleading," he adds. "They didn't need to go in at absolutely the very lowest level. They want to demonstrate to their friends and family that they're succeeding."

Tata Motors defends its marketing strategy and says all it has to do is get sales going is get the Nano closer to where

the target customers are, in small towns and villages. Nearly all of its 619 sales outlets are in big cities, so the company is trying to expand into towns with populations under 500,000, opening locations that sell and service only Nanos.

Six are in operation so far, with 300 more planned by the end of 2011. "Had we been able to enter the market at full capacity, all this would have taken place much earlier," the Tata spokesman says. "We set a certain footprint. Now we have to expand that footprint." A bigger footprint is crucial to the Nano's business model. Majeed estimates that Tata Motors would have to run its Nano factory at 80% to 90% of capacity to make a profit because margins are so low.

For now, Tata Motors is trying to boost production by selling Nanos in other parts of the subcontinent where market conditions are similar to India's, with motorcycles far outnumbering cars. But even in places like Sri Lanka, where 700 Nanos

have been sold since May, there are image problems. Nayanajith Thilekarathana, a businessman in Colombo, bought a Nano recently for about \$10,000. (The bigger tab is due to Sri Lanka's extremely high import duties.) The Nano is significantly less expensive than other imported cars, but after several local taxi services started cruising the streets with GPS-equipped Nanos, it acquired a new label. "I have had people coming to me asking whether this is 'that taxi car,'" he says with disgust. "People still want a vehicle to be a status symbol, and that sometimes overrides convenience and economics."

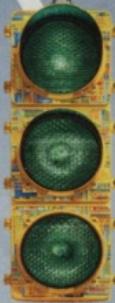
As any number of emerging market companies—from Japanese electronics makers like Sony to Korean car giant Hyundai and, more recently, Chinese appliance makers like Haier—can attest, building a great brand takes time. "This is a 10-to-15-year process," says Ashish Singh, chairman of Bain India. For now, Tata Motors' first step will be replacing Carl-Peter Forster, who abruptly resigned as CEO in September because of "unavoidable personal circumstances" after less than two years at the company. Tata Motors claims it's in for the long haul, and it has plans to launch a version of the Nano for Europe, the Tata Pixel, within three years, aimed at space-squeezed urbanites coping with recessionary budgets. Given its economic problems, maybe Europe is the continent where austerity will trump emotion. —WITH REPORTING BY AMANTHA PERERA/COLOMBO

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MILLION
Annual number of motorcycle buyers in India.
Tata Motors hopes to capture some of that market

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What Was I Thinking?

Why we often have trouble acting in our best financial interests

BY GARY BELSKY AND THOMAS GILOVICH

IMAGINE YOU'RE BUYING A MOBILE phone that retails for \$100. At the store, you learn the same phone sells for \$75 two blocks away. Do you walk to the other store? Now imagine you're buying a ski jacket that sells for \$800. At the shop, you learn the same coat goes for \$775 at a branch two blocks away. Do you walk to that branch?

If you're like most people, you answered yes to the first question but no to the second, even though both essentially ask if you would walk two blocks to save \$25. Such differing responses are examples of mental accounting, a basic tenet of behavioral economics—a burgeoning field that explores human judgment in general and financial decisions in particular. Taking it as a given that people often behave irrationally, behavioral economists do their level best to understand how and why.

Mental accounting, while a godsend if it keeps you from blowing your savings, can also be costly—for example, when you are willing to spring for an optional feature when buying a car because, hey, what's another \$750 when you're already spending \$25,000? Worse, mental accounting is one of dozens of biases that, alone or in combination, wreak havoc on our finances. You could fill a book with these

mental blind spots. We did, actually, and here are a few other common money blunders you'll likely find familiar.

You're too sensitive. The granddaddy of all behavioral-economics principles is loss aversion, which earned Israeli psychologist Daniel Kahneman a 2002 Nobel Prize. His work with Amos Tversky in the 1970s demonstrated that most people respond to the loss of a given amount of money about twice as strongly as they react to a similar gain. Loss aversion is why many people routinely sell winning investments too quickly and hold losers longer than they should. The pain of making a loss final by unloading shares outweighs the rational reasons for dumping them. Loss aversion is likewise partly to blame when employees can't convince themselves that they should contribute to 401(k) and other retirement accounts—often missing out on employer matches—because a painful drop in today's spending power overrides the pleasure of tomorrow's spending gains.

You're easily distracted. As we've seen recently, many investors have no problem whatsoever selling losing stocks. In fact, they tend to sell both winners and losers when share prices start crashing—even

if they don't need their funds for decades. Two related biases are at work: availability, which refers to our tendency to make decisions on the basis of information that comes most easily to mind, and recency, which describes our habit of giving too much significance to the latest events. An awareness of these biases is why rich old codgers buy shares for their grandkids when stock prices plummet; they recognize what are actually buying opportunities, because they've seen such slides before. On the flip side, insurance buyers who fall prey to these mental missteps often keep their deductibles too low: news reports about this natural disaster or that crime spree lead us to overestimate the likelihood that a tree will fall on our house or our car will be stolen.

You can't let go. Lawyers typically rank low on job-satisfaction surveys, but ask an attorney why she doesn't switch careers and she'll probably respond with a pair of numbers: how long she's been practicing and how much law school cost. The sunk-cost fallacy refers to the unconscious desire to have our current choices justify prior decisions. It's the reason many car owners continue to repair a lemon—because they can't bear to give up on the money they've already spent—and it helps explain (with loss aversion) why so many homeowners resist selling when real estate prices tumble, only to unload their houses for even less just a few months later. Sometimes the best strategy is to cut your losses and run. ■

Belsky and Gilovich, who write for TIME.com's Moneyland site, are the authors of Why Smart People Make Big Money Mistakes—and How to Correct Them

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Joel Salatin with chicken
residents of his 550-acre
plot in Swoope, Va.
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The Culture

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Pop Chart



GOOD WEEK / BAD WEEK

Taylor Swift
She'll be the youngest person (at 21) to receive *Billboard's* Woman of the Year Award

Hank Williams Jr.
ESPN canned his *Monday Night Football* intro after he compared President Obama to Hitler



MOVIES

One Fish Two Fish Red Fish Johnny Depp

Having already played two iconic writers—Hunter S. Thompson and J.M. Barrie—Johnny Depp will continue his literary streak by producing (and possibly starring in) a biopic of children's author Dr. Seuss.

TELEVISION

Haters and Winners

Three weeks into the fall season, and some networks have already decided which new series to put out of their misery: an odious reality show, a sexist drama and two dud sitcoms. Quickly picked up for a second season: a pair of female-centric comedies.



The CBS comedy was canceled after only two episodes



MOVIES

Universal Stands Down

Bowing to pressure from theaters that had threatened to boycott the upcoming comedy *Tower Heist*, Universal Pictures called off its plan to make the film available to select home viewers just three weeks after its theatrical release. Before it backed down, Universal reigned a feud between movie theaters and film studios and prompted Cinemark, the U.S.'s third largest theater chain, to say it would ban *Tower Heist* from its 3,800 screens. Cinemark's move, made in an attempt to push back against the premium video-on-demand business, was not this year's first such face-off; in April, AMC and Regal battled with four studios that struck a deal with DirecTV to make some movies available to subscribers just 60 days after their release.

\$59.99

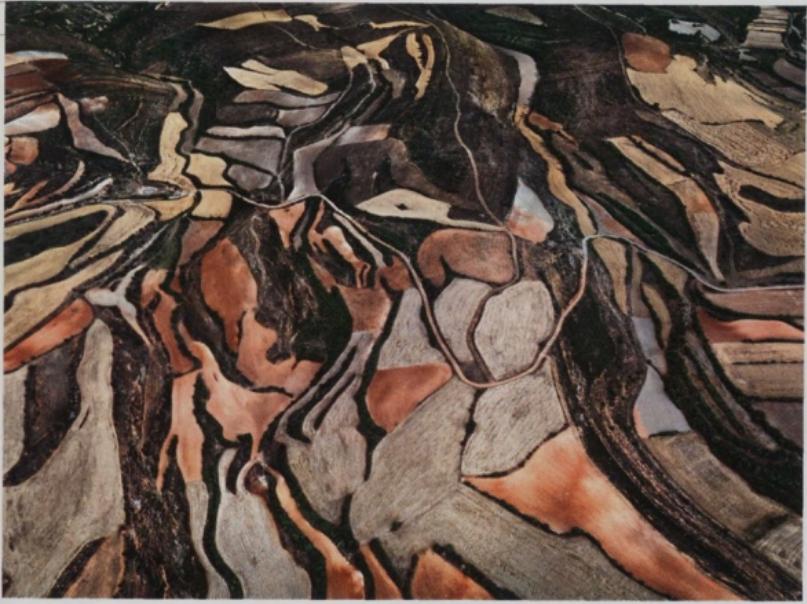
The price, per viewing, Universal had planned to charge to watch *Tower Heist* at home

MUSIC

Björk Is Not Afraid of the Future (or Wigs)

Digital technology has been blamed for killing the record industry, but Björk has fully embraced it. Her latest studio album, *Biophilia*, was partly recorded with an iPad and released with 10 accompanying apps for download. "Crystalline" takes users through a tunnel filled with neon crystals that pulsate to the beat of the track.





DOUBLE EXPOSURE Photographer Edward Burtynsky, a master at exploring the effects of industry on nature, is being honored with twin New York City exhibitions this fall. The first, on display through Dec. 10 at Bryce Wolkowitz Gallery, features topographic landscape images like Dryland Farming #24, Monegros County, Aragon, Spain, above. Meanwhile, a Howard Greenberg Gallery exhibition takes a broader, retrospective look at Burtynsky's 25-year career.



TELEVISION **Saving The Simpsons**

Doh! For a second there, *The Simpsons* was close to calling it quits after 23 seasons. But Fox renewed the show to run through 2014 after its main voice actors agreed to a one-third salary cut. Don't pity the stars, though. Each will still pull in at least \$6 million a year for voicing Homer, Bart and the rest of Springfield.



MUSIC **Beyoncé Borrows**

Being pregnant grants you only so much deference from others. Beyoncé has been accused of swiping moves from a Belgian choreographer in the video for her new single "Countdown." Anne Teresa De Keersmaeker says the singer plagiarized from two of her ballets. Beyoncé says she was just inspired.

VERBATIM

“Look at this beautiful kitten.” “F--- you, that kitten’s a socialist.” “You’re a f---.” Basically, that’s the crux of all Internet discussion.’

JEFF TWEEDY, lead singer of Wilco, giving *Magnet* magazine his take on Web discourse



NOSTALGIA **A Truly Outrageous Box Set**

Before *Hannah Montana*, there was *Jem and the Holograms*. The 1980s cartoon, which follows a blonde music executive who moonlights as a pink-haired pop star, is now available in an 11-disc DVD set that includes cast interviews and special features.

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. The awesomeness of the next James Bond villain. *No Country for Old Men* villain Javier Bardem will star as a baddie in the as-yet-unnamed Bond 23.

2. An end to celebrity obliviousness. It's alive and well in the stars who decided to drop in on Occupy Wall Street knowing full well they would be mocked. (Hello, Kanye!)

3. Steven Soderbergh's *Liberace* biopic. Everything about it, from the casting (Michael Douglas as Liberace and Matt Damon as his younger lover) to the network (HBO), indicates that it's going to be a good one.

This Land Is Your Land

Joel Salatin wants to lead America back to the farm

By Bryan Walsh/Swoope

YOU CAN FIND JOEL SALATIN'S SOUL IN HIS slaughterhouse. Just behind the oversize shed that serves as his farm's shop is what Salatin calls the chicken-processing center, where the living birds that squawked in the field this morning are killed, defeathered and cleaned in swift succession by a bucket brigade of young farming apprentices. The bloody work of slaughtering is usually hidden away from those who will one day eat the meat, perhaps in nugget form. But at Polyface Farm in rural Swoope, Va.—where Salatin and multiple generations of his family have tended the land for decades—the processing is performed in open air, and customers who've driven out to pick up a bird can and do wander around back to take a look for themselves. Salatin is a firm believer in the disinfecting power of sunlight, even if government officials haven't always agreed with him. "We think it's important to create that visceral connection with food," says Salatin as he stands over a tub full of freshly slaughtered chickens, the ice water turning crimson. "It helps you appreciate food—and life too."

If you haunt farmers' markets and know what CSA stands for, then you may think you know Salatin, the rebellious Shenandoah Valley farmer who has emerged as a sage and celebrity in the sustainable-food movement. Salatin taught Michael Pollan how to chop a chicken in *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, and he was the beating heart of the Oscar-nominated documentary *Food, Inc.*, in which he emerged as a one-man symbol of an alternative food system. Even while selling a quarter-million self-published books on sustainable farming and giving talks around the world, Salatin has continued to

raise some of the nation's best grass-fed cattle and "beyond organic" chicken and pork, all without using a single barrel of fertilizer. In the brewing culture war over food—which pits big Midwestern farmers and food companies against advocates for small-scale organic farming and food—Salatin is supposed to be on the side of the liberal good guys, eager to see stronger regulation of the industrial-agriculture system that they blame for pollution, animal abuse and just-plain-bad food.

Except that's not quite true. In his new book, *Folks, This Ain't Normal*, the 54-year-old farmer-philosopher emerges as a true American throwback: an agrarian libertarian who wants both Food Inc. and Big Government out of his fields. He thinks the ills of America—unemployment, obesity, disaffected youth—can be cured by going back to the land and its values, a return to what he likes to call "normal." It's about better food, yes, but what Salatin is really calling for is responsibility: a declaration of independence from corporations and bureaucracy. He wants us to be full citizens of the food system, like the Jeffersonian citizen-farmers who founded the country. "I differ from most foodies because I don't think factory farming should be regulated out of business," says Salatin. "It's up to people to step up and think responsibly about their food."

Salatin proposes nothing less than an extreme decentralization of the food system—no fast-food joints, no Whole Foods shipping organic produce from half a continent away. You eat what you raise—or what's raised around you—and you count on the good name of your farmer, not the Department of Agriculture, to keep your food safe. "We hear about global this



THE NEW 'NORMAL'
Salatin's new book, *Folks, This Ain't Normal*, urges a return to a time when most of us made our living off farms, participating in a localized economy.



CHICKEN RUN Salatin's pasture-based operations feature some of his inventions, like this mobile henhouse on skids

and that, and it makes us worried," says Salatin, who refuses to ship his products because he believes everyone should eat locally. "You have to look for anchor and root, and you can't find that 10,000 miles away from home."

Home for Salatin—and his 87-year-old mother, his wife Teresa, his adult children and his grandchildren—is Polyface, a three-hour drive west of Washington. On this 550-acre patch of Virginia horse country, Salatin raises thousands of chickens, cattle and hogs. His adult son Daniel helps direct young workers packing chickens, while Daniel's wife Sheri (who calls herself "the original Polyface chick") minds the register. Very much a family enterprise, Polyface is also Salatin's Monticello: the carefully crafted expression of his ideals. It's fueled by grass. His herd of cattle grazes in the pasture, bounded by mobile electrified fencing. When they've mowed down a patch of the field, they're moved along and replaced by chickens. The birds live in portable coops of Salatin's own invention, with wire mesh that can be dragged easily from place to place, following the changing pasture patterns.

The result is a farm built for independence. Nearly everything Salatin needs comes from his fields, and his mixed-use, pasture-based system keeps the land vibrant year after year, with little waste. "There's no energy bill, and we don't have to truck in manure," says Salatin. His way "doesn't dominate the landscape the way industrial agriculture does. This is ecological integrity right here."

Salatin believes freedom begins with food, with the security of knowing where your food comes from—preferably raising and preparing some of it yourself. But we're not doing that. There are about 2 million farms in the U.S., down from nearly 7 million in 1935. Less than 2% of Americans farm for a living. For many of us, our deepest connection to food is made via *Top Chef*. Sustainably produced Polyface chicken and beef are more expensive than conventional fare (its Thanksgiving



turkeys will sell for \$3.25 per pound; the national average price in 2010 was \$1.10 per pound), but Salatin believes we get what we pay for. "We spend around 10% of income on food and some 16% on health care, and it used to be the reverse," he says. "Our culture has essentially abdicated our food relationship."

But food is just the gateway to Salatin's radical philosophy, which asks us to take what's generally considered progress and throw it in reverse. He knows that hard-core localization—and the beyond-organic, fertilizer-free methods he uses—would require far greater quantities of farmers at work. Industrial agriculture is no different from any other modern manufacturing process: machines and chemical energy have replaced human hands, which is why each remaining American farmer can support more than 140 people. Salatin's way results in a far smaller ratio, and he doesn't see a problem with that. "People say our system can't feed the world, but they're absolutely wrong,"

he says. "Yes, it will take more hands, but we've got plenty of them around."

Salatin is a hero to young Americans who are taking up the farming lifestyle. His apprentice program—a year of training at Polyface—attracts applicants from around the country and has an acceptance rate on par with that of Ivy League schools. "Joel's work is definitely the inspiration for tons of young farmers who are getting started," says Benjamin Beichler, a 24-year-old former Salatin apprentice who now runs his own farm near Polyface.

Of course, human development has mostly been a movement away from the farm, family and village. It's hard to see us giving up free enjoyment of the fruits of the modern world so we can go back to tending them. Yet at a moment when the global economy is in a deep freeze, a quarter of Americans are obese and over a billion people worldwide are going hungry despite half the produce going to waste—well, maybe progress isn't all it's cracked up to be.

At the end of Pure Meadows Lane, where an always sunny Salatin banters with longtime Polyface customers and new fans while grandchildren scamper underfoot, classical agrarianism has never looked so good. "I am a proverbial optimist," says Salatin. "I don't think it's going to be easy, but the future is bright and promising." Spoken like a man who's ready for the harvest. ■

Salatin proposes nothing less than an extreme decentralization of the food system

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Art

Los Angeles Plays Itself. How Southern California became a nexus of art

By Richard Lacayo

HENRY JAMES ONCE MADE A FAMOUS inventory of "the items of high civilization... absent from the texture of American life." No king, no aristocracy, no palaces—how could anyone produce art in a place without those? Keep in mind that he was thinking about Nathaniel Hawthorne's relatively civilized New England. God knows what James would have made of Los Angeles around 1950.

In the years after World War II, there could hardly have been a city less likely to become a great art center than L.A. It didn't really have a major museum, much less one devoted to modern work. And anyway, everybody knew that Manhattan—where the Abstract Expressionists were going head to head with the work of Picasso and Matisse—was the place to be. In L.A., where Hollywood studios were the dominant cultural force, you could still engage Paris in your art if you wanted to, but your real struggle was against the behemoth rodent Mickey Mouse.

Yet six decades later, L.A. is a major locus of art-world production. Showing how it got from there to here is the immense task attempted in "Pacific Standard Time: Art in L.A. 1945–1980," a vast regional effort in which 60 or so museums, galleries and other art spaces in Southern California have joined to sort through the history of their local art movements in the decades after World War II. Since the project originated with the Getty Research Institute, the J. Paul Getty Museum gets one of the tent-pole shows, "Crosscurrents in L.A. Painting and Sculpture, 1950–1970," which includes works by Ed Ruscha, Edward Kienholz and David Hockney. But a story

this big has more than enough chapters to go around: architecture and design at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; video, performance and conceptual art at the Museum of Contemporary Art; African-American artists at the Hammer Museum; and so on.

One collective lesson from this multitude of shows is that L.A.'s cultural immaturity in the early days was an advantage. If nothing else, backwaters can irrigate free thinking. With no presiding isms, no cultural orthodoxies, Billy Al Bengston could paint with the spray guns used to customize motorcycle gas tanks. There was no one to tell him you can't do things like that and call it art. If Ruscha wanted to make deadpan pictures of words, as in *The Back of Hollywood*, go for it. With no weight of tradition holding them down, John McCracken could apply surfboard resins to his minimalist planks, and ceramic artists could put aside vases to make enigmatic sculptural "things" like Ken Price's *BG Red*. It was all O.K.

When Pop art came along in the early 1960s, it drew heavily on the local idiom of movie fandom, so it's a surprise that the first exhibition of Andy Warhol's soup cans wasn't in Manhattan but at L.A.'s Ferus Gallery. For years the gallery was the main outpost of militant SoCal modernism: a tiny stockade, mostly containing hip young white guys like Kienholz, Bengston and Larry Bell, with actor-photographer Dennis Hopper hanging around the edges.

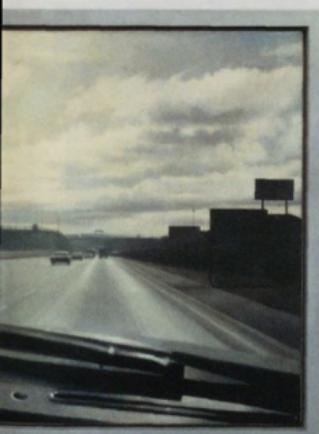
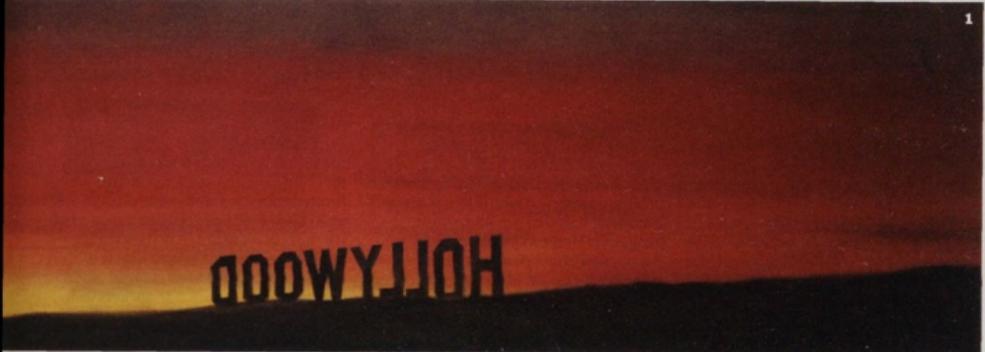
In architecture, local taste was often ahead of the tradition-bound Eastern seaboard. Though the movie colony went in for would-be English manor houses and craptastic palazzi, in sunny L.A. it was also possible to build houses truly open to the elements—things European modernists had long dreamed of but European winters discouraged. Those were the glass-and-steel boxes of light and space that Hockney painted after he arrived from London to chronicle this brave new world in implacably cool pictures like *A Bigger Splash*.



Light and Space is of course the name of what's probably the most consequential of the SoCal art movements—the one that produced Robert Irwin's translucent fabric scrims stretched over entire rooms, which used pure light to play with our perceptions. But by the time those artists emerged in the early '70s, the whole "paradise by the Pacific" mythos of the Golden State was getting tattered. The first people to recognize that L.A. wasn't the Garden of Eden were the ones who did the field work. So blacks and Latinos tended to make art that had a political edge, like John Riddle's *Ghetto Merchant*, a welded steel sculpture built around the melted remains of a cash register dug from the embers of the 1965 Watts riots.

But you didn't have to be black or Latino to wonder where L.A. was headed. Vija

In the years after World War II, there could hardly have been a city less likely to become a great art center



6



5



3



4



Made in L.A.

1. The Back of Hollywood, *Ed Ruscha*, 1977
2. Zuma #25, *John Divola*, 1978/2006
3. BG Red, *Ken Price*, 1963
4. A Bigger Splash, *David Hockney*, 1967
5. Ghetto Merchant, *John Riddle*, 1966
6. Freeway, *Vija Celmins*, 1966

Celmins, a Latvian émigré, made one of the most psychologically sophisticated accounts of the city's mixed prospects in *Freeway*, a brilliantly mordant photo-realistic painting in which the open highway looks a lot like the road to nowhere. And if there's a single image that could sum up the collective impression of L.A. in "Pacific Standard Time," it would be *Zuma #25*, a photograph by John Divola. It was part of a series he made over two years in the late 1970s: views of the Pacific seen through the windows of an abandoned beach house that became more dilapidated in each succeeding picture. In the contrast between the beckoning blue ocean and the decaying thing that humans had built at its edge, it's hard not to see a metaphor for the City of Angels. It's the place where paradise was lost.

Money

Take This Fee And Shove It So you want to fire your bank? The feeling may be mutual

By Bill Saporito

I MAY BE HANDING AMERICAN EXPRESS the pink slip. Its unending fees are bugging me. I recently fired Mint, a car-sharing program, for gouging me for being 40 minutes late. Mint was insistent about it, and so was I; I drove my business to Hertz on Demand. I dumped American Airlines years ago after enduring the umpteenth cramped New York-to-Dallas flight, but then again, like you, I have fired every airline. They're hard to fire forever.

Many people are soon going to decide whether to fire their banks and credit-card issuers. Bank of America and others are adding monthly fees for the privilege of using your debit card. They're also raising minimum balances for free checking and hiking other fees. The banks blame new regulations that have cut debit-card transaction fees, but in truth they've been subsidizing free checking with high fees elsewhere: for lateness, overdrawing or busting your credit limit. "They had a punitive way to treat us if we made mistakes," says Dan

Ariely of Duke University, author of *Predictably Irrational*, who studies consumer behavior. "It was an easy way for them to charge us, a way to use our limited cognitive ability and abuse us." The new fees are transparent, and it's the transparency that's ticking us off. More galling is the idea that the banks have been so mismanaged that they now need to pick our pockets to sustain their profits.

That's why if Chase tries to ding me for spending my own money, I may be outta there. Meanwhile, Chase is going to decide if it really wants me hanging around the vault. Across the economy there's a constant calculation being made by service providers and consumers. The math goes like this: acquiring a customer is expensive, while the lifetime value of a loyal consumer grows exponentially. Think about all the offers you get in the mail from credit-card issuers, banks, airlines, charities and, um, magazines. Consider the money spent by beer, auto and airline companies on advertising: it's not

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Acquiring a customer is expensive, while the lifetime value of a loyal consumer grows exponentially

unusual for marketing to eat up 10% of revenue, so clearly the companies think landing new customers is worth the cost.

Once they've got you, firms evaluate your profitability to determine how much service they're going to offer or even if they should dump you. It's called bucketing. "Everyone should know they are being bucketed," says Patricia Sahm of Auriemma Consulting Group, a financial-services consultancy. By that she means you are being put in one of four value buckets: high, low, medium or no. A no-value customer—minimum balance, no mortgage with the bank, writes lots of checks—who whines about a \$5-a-month debit-card fee is going to be told, "See ya later." For a high-value customer, with a

fat balance and a brokerage account, the answer will be "Fee? What fee?"

I've been an AmEx customer for more than 20 years, and so has TIME; clearly AmEx earns good money from both my business and personal spending. That probably makes me worth keeping, so maybe AmEx will throw in some free miles when I threaten to quit over things like steep late fees or foreign-transaction fees. (Money doesn't know where it is, so why should I pay more to spend it in Japan?) On the other hand, Mint doesn't know me that well or didn't care to, so it was willing to risk the \$500 to \$1,000 I'll spend this year renting cars for the \$25 late fee. Fair enough, but I'm still gone.

The thought of firing your bank or credit-card issuers feels good, but they've got a big advantage over us in the form of inertia: it's a pain in the butt to switch accounts. Maybe I won't move if my bank raises the rent, but I certainly have to threaten to. There's only so much money out there. I just want to keep my share of it.

THE WORLD NEEDS MORE THAN OIL.

A.D. Robson **WE AGREE**

Professor Alan Robson
Vice-Chancellor
University of Western Australia

Neil Theobald
General Manager, Gas Marketing & Commercialization
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Television

On CBS's *2 Broke Girls*, left, an heiress gets her hands dirty; on ABC's *Revenge*, a rich clan gets payback for dirty tricks.



Reversal of Fortune. Is class warfare a bad thing? In prime time, maybe not

By James Poniewozik

WHEN PRESIDENT OBAMA ANNOUNCED A jobs program in September that relied on taxing the rich, Speaker of the House John Boehner responded from the reflex sector of the Republican brain stem: "Class warfare isn't leadership." A few weeks later, the Occupy Wall Street protests against wealth concentration grew, and GOP presidential hopeful Mitt Romney's synapses fired: "Class warfare."

It's the familiar chorus to an old song. But after the 2008 meltdown and the TARP bailouts, after Wall Street bonuses rebounded while mortgages stayed underwater, do Americans still hear *class warfare* as if it's a bad thing? Judging by the fall TV season, viewers may be up for, if not class warfare, at least some spirited class fistcuffs.

A pair of this year's highest-rated new shows make entertainment out of economic schadenfreude. The most bluntly titled is ABC's *Revenge*, whose premise is as simple as its name: When Emily Thorne (Emily Van Camp) was a girl, her father was framed for a crime by his wealthy Hamptons neighbors and died broken and ruined. Now grown up, she's returned under an alias to destroy the conspirators one by one each week through exposure, sabotage or any other means necessary.

Revenge is basically a weekly anthology of payback, and Emily's list of targets—not just the town's ruling family but also the politicians, stock traders and hangers-on who enabled them—describes a social pyramid that protects the pharaohs at the top while consequences roll downhill.

The rich have long populated soaps, of course; working-class people used to be the material of sitcoms, from *The Honeymooners* to *Roseanne*. But with the popularity of *Friends* and *Frasier*—and as networks and advertisers shifted their sights to upscale viewers—TV became a (George) Jeffersonian democracy: sitcom characters moved on up.

This fall's highest-rated new comedy, however, is CBS's *2 Broke Girls*, about an economic odd couple: a street-smart Brook-

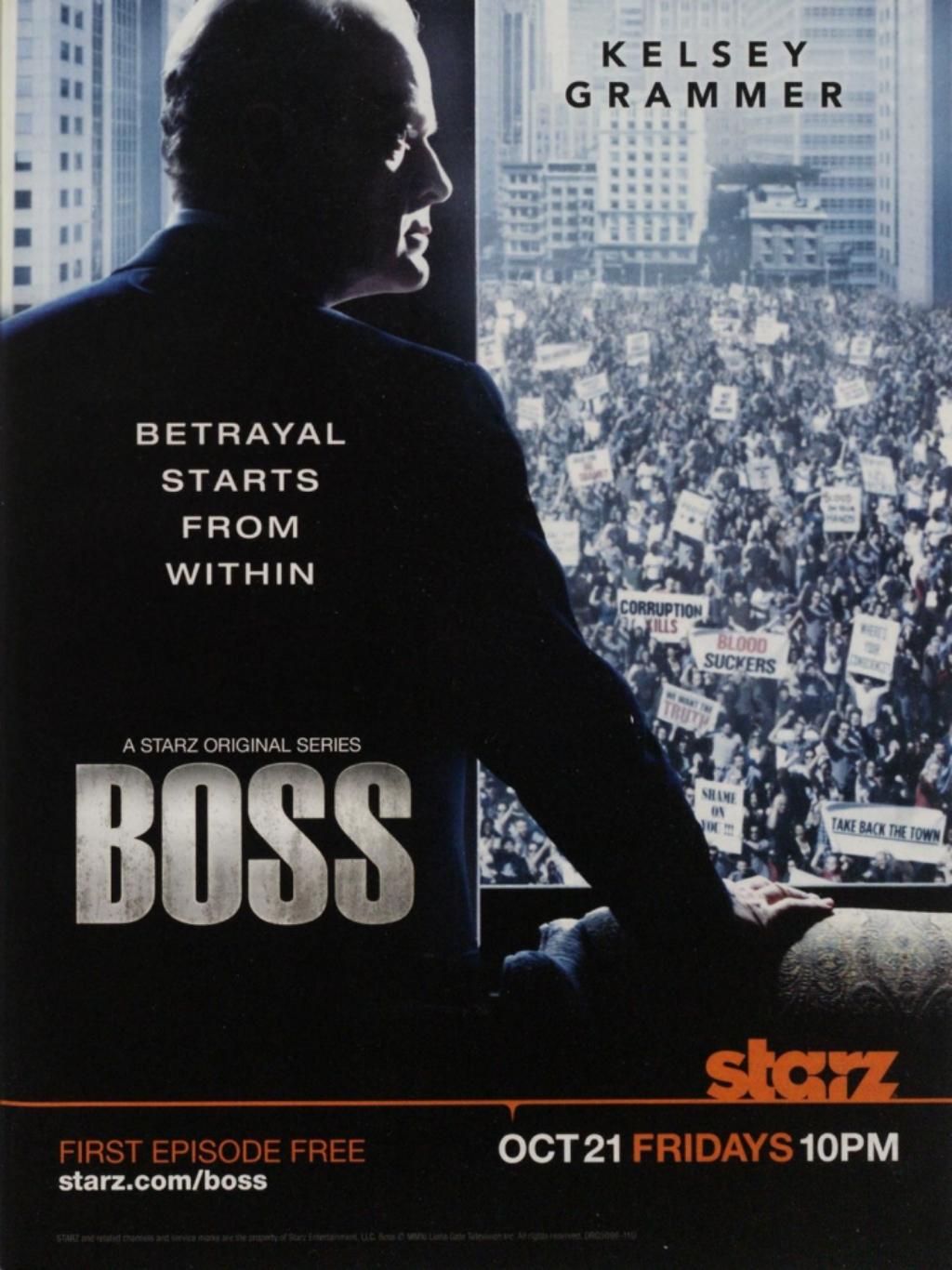
Fiction, and reality, reacts to a social pyramid that protects the pharaohs on top while consequences roll downhill

lyn waitress (Kat Dennings) and her new co-worker—roomie (Beth Behrs), whose dad—a Madoff-like scam artist—went to jail and left her to risk her manicure slinging burgers. After a decade-plus of sitcoms about the affluent (*Modern Family*)'s clan began this season with a trip to Jackson Hole, Wyo., because don't we all?), a comedy whose characters struggle to pay the rent is practically Brechtian theater.

Slow as prime time was to recognize the class divide, it may have been ahead of TV news, which took its time discovering Occupy Wall Street when the protests began in September. Once the cameras arrived in force, spurred partly by a YouTube video of police pepper-spraying fenced-in female protesters, they often came to sneer. On CNN, Erin Burnett's whirlwind tour of OWS in lower Manhattan went heavy on the bongo players and wacky costumes while insinuating that the less eccentric protesters were hypocrites because some of them wore Lululemon yoga pants and used computers. (The only legitimate ways to protest corporate welfare, of course, are to wear trash-can liners and communicate via coconut shells connected with hempen string.)

There was also pooh-poohing, cherry-picking coverage of the Tea Party as it grew in 2009, though it at least had the media advantage of starting with an on-air rant by CNBC's Rick Santelli and being cultivated by Fox News hosts. But both movements face a challenge in the mainstream press, which is more at ease with Establishment sources and tends to assume passionate populists are lunatics.

The flip side is that passion, and maybe a little lunacy, gets attention. Take *Roseanne* Barr, who made headlines at OWS by calling (jokingly?) for a "maximum wage" of \$100 million, enforceable on pain of the guillotine. Days later, NBC signed her to shoot a new sitcom set in a trailer park. The ferment of the '70s gave us Norman Lear comedies set in the ghetto (*Good Times*) and a junkyard (*Sanford and Son*). Much has changed since then, but prime-time TV is still the most populist medium we have—the one, therefore, where a corporate network and a Rust Belt Robespierre just might find themselves class-warring on the same side. ■



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Nice Work If You Can Avoid It

In which I take a break from my idle life to defend American laziness

MANY COMMENTATORS HAVE CRITICIZED my self-obsessed columns as being narcissistic. I know because I spend several hours each day Googling my name and reading those comments. Sure, I was a lodestar for this generation's narcissism, writing about my body hair in this magazine long before people wrote about their body hair on blogs, Twitter and Facebook. But I was also forging an even more important cultural shift: laziness. Because there's no form of journalism that requires fewer interviews than writing about yourself. I know. I've looked. But not too hard.

Here are things I'm too lazy to do: fax, send mail, read questions on medical forms before answering them, talk on the phone, wash lettuce, punish my kid, wear a tie, click on a link, open an orange-juice carton using the built-in flap, press Save, go back to the car to get my reusable shopping bags after I forgot them, make my own hot beverage, finish a book, wear glasses, call that guy to fix that thing, get clothes dry-cleaned, shop in a store, use the bathroom hand dryer instead of paper towels, read your entire e-mail.

And America is following my lead. A bunch of studies that I didn't read show that Americans' work ethic is plummeting. In 1955 about 80% of Americans said they'd keep working if they won the lottery; in 2006 that number was down to 70.3%. I'm so lazy, I can't believe anyone made the effort to ask that question. Of course I would quit, and I have the easiest job in the world now that Andy Rooney has retired. How evil do you have to be to win the lottery and then go to work and pretend you're worried about meeting a dead-

line? "Can I get an extra hour on this, Mike, if I, say, buy the company?"

It's not the recession that's getting us down—just hard work. Answers in 2009 to survey questions about valuing leisure over work are the same as in 2006. There's no data more recent than that, most likely because the survey takers have become too lazy. It's also not just people who think working is answering e-mails on their phone. By 2006 industrial workers were willing to lift only 69% of what they'd lift before 1991, despite the fact that those workers probably weigh much, much more. You think the Chinese are refusing to lift heavy stuff? Their motto is "This ain't heavy; this is the psychological substitute for my brother that the government didn't allow me to have."

In 1992, 80% of people under 23 wanted to eventually have a job with more responsibility; 10 years later, that number was down to 60%. You know how I know about all this? I e-mailed Jean Twenge, a psychology professor at San Diego State University and the author of *Generation Me*, and asked if she had any ideas for my column this week because I didn't want to think of one. You know how I know Twenge? She mentioned me in her book *The Narcissism Epidemic*. It's the circle of lazy narcissism. "Hakuna Matata." I'm not even sure if that's the right *Lion King*



song. But I'm not going to look it up.

People like me have worked not hard to replace the work ethic with the leisure ethic. We value innovations such as Angry Birds, Avatar and Facebook instead of laying down railroad track and getting to the moon. We have even invented a euphemism for laziness: *work-life balance*. Just like not so long ago, we invented a euphemism for narcissism: *Oprah*.

Some will bemoan our nation's laziness.

Not me. And not just because bemoaning sounds like a lot of work. It's because laziness is the mark of a mature society. China is exciting right now with all that dynamic growth, but you don't want to live there with its smog, dangerous infrastructure and insistence on learning math. You want to live in Italy, where no one has worked in centuries. The French live better than we do, and the only things the French make are aspersions. Sure, you can watch your civilization go out in violent debauchery like the overly ambitious Romans did. But you're better off looking around like the British and deciding that running an empire is a lot less important than finally paying attention to improving your own cuisine. Americans were so ready for a lazy café culture that we spent the past 15 years building nothing but Starbucks.

There was no leisure culture until now because leisure sucked. Of course our grandparents liked to work. When they weren't working, they were at home with their eight children. Without television. I'd rather lift a million 69%-heavier things than do that.

Our great-grandparents worked hard so we wouldn't have to. To strive is to dishonor them. We work more hours than any other industrialized nation, and it's getting us nowhere but miserable. That's why I'm thinking about building a nationwide 30-week work-year movement. It might also solve the unemployment problem. But there's no way I'm calling an economist to find out.

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10 Questions

Actor, director, activist and all-around suavemeister **George Clooney is another guy not running for President**

Your new movie, *The Ides of March*, is pretty dark. Is your view of politicians that they're all compromised?

My father ran for Congress in 2004, and I got a sense that there is no way to achieve much success without a certain amount of compromise.

Your character, a presidential candidate, makes a mistake. Do people allow candidates failings if they don't influence who they are as politicians?

I really do think it almost always comes down to not just the stupid act itself but the covering up of that stupid act. I truly believe if Nixon had taken the tapes and burned them on his front lawn and said, "Screw you. These belong to me," Watergate would have been very different.

Are you disappointed in Obama?

I get angry at people who don't stand for him, actually. If this were a Republican President, Republicans would say, "We were losing 400,000 jobs a month. We stopped it. We saved the car industry." You could go down the list. Democrats should talk to Hollywood about how to posture some of these things. Say you're about to get into tax loopholes. Instead of "loopholes," say "cheating." And then on the floor of the Senate, get up and say, "We're not going to raise your taxes, but we're not for cheating. Are you?" I just think Democrats are bad at that.

Ronald Reagan said, "How can the President not be an actor?" How good an actor is Obama?

If you consider a good actor to be the guy that you want when you got one take left and the sun is setting, then

he's a very good actor, because when his back's against the wall, he's always terrific. He should sometimes bone up on some of the day-to-day skills of communication.

What are you doing with the Satellite Sentinel Project?

We have a camera 400 miles [640 km] above Sudan, taking pictures. I want [Sudan's President] Omar al-Bashir to enjoy the exact same amount

As a child, Clooney ran the teleprompter for his newscaster dad Nick



of celebrity that I do. And we've found mass graves when they were trying to quickly bury them. We have photographs of tanks and helicopters and planes where there was supposed to be just tribal fighting. We're able to give these to the U.N.

Do you follow Twitter?

No, because I drink in the evening and I don't want anything that I write at midnight to end my career—"You can kiss my ass," all spelled wrong.

Since you've lived there, has tourism to Lake Como increased?

Tourism to my home has increased. Every year, bigger boats come by. And every year what they say I paid for my house goes up. Now it's like \$25 million. Which I did not pay.

What do you think of Occupy Wall Street?

Anytime there's an actual grassroots movement that isn't funded by people trying to create a grassroots movement, I find that interesting.

What about the Buffett rule, that people of a certain income should pay more taxes?

Asking people who have been lucky enough to make a great deal of money to participate more is a patriotic thing to do. I don't know how you argue against it.

Would you run for office?

No! I'd run from! My job's much, much more fun.



MORE GEORGE

To see the video of Clooney and Richard Stengel, go to time.com/10questions

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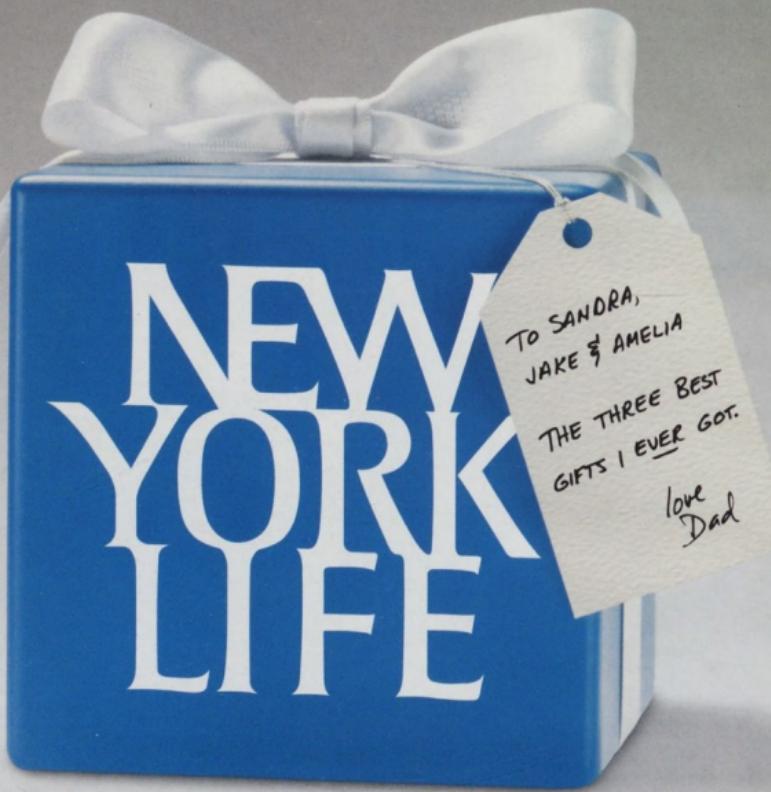
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